

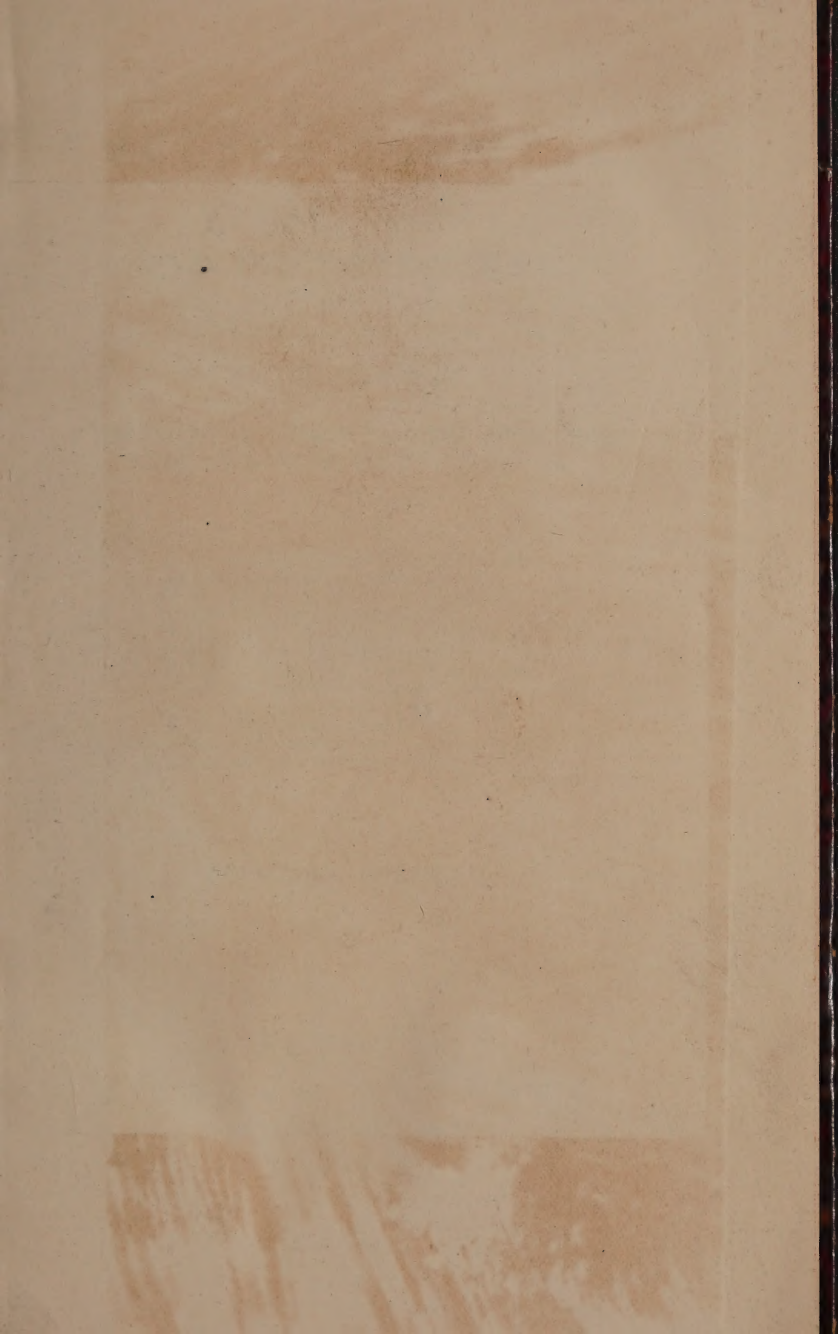
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Sir Henry P. de Bathe Bart.

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CHELSEA HOSPITAL,

AND ITS TRADITIONS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

“THE COUNTRY CURATE,” — “THE SUBALTERN,”
“THE CHRONICLES OF WALTHAM,” &c.

Go with old Thames, view Chelsea's glorious pile,
And ask the shattered hero whence his smile ;
Go view the splendid domes of Greenwich—go,
And own what raptures from reflection flow.
Hail ! noblest structures, imaged in the wave,
A nation's grateful tribute to the brave—
Hail ! blest retreats from war and shipwreck, hail !
That oft arrest the wandering stranger's sail.
Long have ye heard the narratives of age,
The battle's havoc and the tempest's rage ;
Long have ye known reflection's genial ray
Gild the calm close of valour's various day.

ROGERS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1838.

MILITARY HOSPITALS : Chelsea

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CHELSEA : Hospital

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LONDON :

PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

TO HER MAJESTY

QUEEN ADELAIDE.

MADAM,

THE following Volumes, towards which his late Majesty, your royal Consort, and our beloved and regretted Monarch, was pleased to honour me by promising to extend his protection, I venture to dedicate to you.

Relating, as the Work does, to an institution in every respect national, and undertaking to illustrate the manners and services of a body of men, in whose welfare our gallant and generous Sovereign took an especial interest, I did not scruple to solicit for it the sanction of the King's name,—a favour that was granted with all the frankness that belonged to his manly

character ; and had Providence so permitted, would have been gratefully used. But Providence did not so permit. By the death of William the Fourth, your Majesty has been deprived of a husband whose affection for you would have graced a lowlier station, the people of England lament the loss of their father, and I have been taught to feel, over and above, that the happy auspices under which I had hoped to bring the result of my researches before the public are withdrawn.

Though born in a foreign land, your Majesty has shown ever since you came among us, that your heart was thoroughly English. To you, therefore, the past and present state of England's old and faithful defenders cannot be a matter of indifference ; nor will you, I trust, find the offering which I bring, chequered as from the nature of the subject it necessarily is, altogether undeserving of your notice. At all events, I pray your Majesty to accept this dedication as a proof that, among the multi-

tudes who have watched your proceedings ever since you touched the English shore, by none have your many and retiring virtues been more justly esteemed than by him who has the honour to subscribe himself

Your Majesty's most devoted

and faithful humble servant,

G. R. GLEIG.

DRESDEN,

Sept. 24, 1837.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHOEVER may expect to derive from the following pages the excitement which it is the purpose of a work of fiction to produce, will inevitably be disappointed. The traditions which I have endeavoured to embody are not the offspring of my own brain, but such passages in the military annals of England as seemed to me best calculated to make my civilian readers aware of the claims which old and maimed soldiers have upon their country's gratitude. Wherever, indeed, I have been so fortunate as to acquire any degree of acquaintance with the personal history of a pensioner, I have gladly turned my knowledge to account; where such happens not to have been the case, I have been content to narrate, at length, the

particulars of the service during which he received his wound, or otherwise established his right for admission into the hospital. It will be seen, too, that I have taken advantage, as often as I could, of such official sources of intelligence as were, by the liberality of Lord John Russell, thrown open to me; and it is just possible that some of my critics may complain that my extracts from state papers are too numerous. But on that head I myself entertain no misgivings, being fully assured that tales of old battles are never so well, because so appropriately told, as in the words of those who witnessed the battles themselves.

I have divided my work into books—partly because it embraces certain subjects which are quite distinct from one another—partly because such division holds out some promise of falling in with every variety of taste among those who may honour it with a perusal. The first book, for example, which relates wholly to the foundation and early arrangements of the hospital, will probably possess some interest in the eyes of all classes. The second, which embraces grave matters of military history, must look to

obtain favour with a narrower circle. Yet I warn even the reader of romance not to turn away from it altogether, should he find that it hangs heavy at the outset. The adventures of Joe Savine, and Neil Campbell, are both of them curious, and the memoirs of Mother Ross have their peculiar merits. What these are, I recommend him to discover for himself.

With respect to the third book, which is purely descriptive, it will, doubtless, have more charms for the country reader than for the inhabitant of London. Both will, however, unless I greatly deceive myself, obtain from it a better acquaintance with the arrangements of this noble establishment than they possessed before. And as to the fourth book, I have only this to say for it: not one word has there been written down, except at the dictation of the pensioners themselves. I think, therefore, that it advances claims upon the notice of all who have any curiosity to be informed touching the habits of life and conversation which prevail among the brave men whose next step from Chelsea Hospital will probably be into the grave.

One word now of thanks to those who have rendered me much and valuable aid in the collection of my materials, and in their subsequent arrangement. To Lord John Russell I owe, first of all, my introduction to Chelsea Hospital itself;—an appointment of which, though it cost both his lordship and me some odium at the outset, he has not, I trust, had as yet cause to repent. Next, I am his lordship's debtor for a free and unrestricted power of reference to the State Paper office, where, from Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Lemon, and the other gentlemen connected with the establishment, I have, on all occasions, received the most polite attention. The same acknowledgments are due to Sir Henry Ellis, and the Curators of the Library in the British Museum, where every facility was afforded me, and every exertion used to lighten the labour of my researches. And when I come nearer home, how shall I express myself? That the records of the Secretary's office should have been thrown open to me was perhaps to be expected. But I had no right to make the demands which I did upon the time and the

attention of the gentlemen connected with them, each of whom, in his turn, has sat as patiently to be catechised, as if it were my province to put questions, and his to answer them.

Last of all, and most of all, my obligations to John Fasson, Esq. of the secretary's office, are numerous and weighty. To him, whose thorough knowledge of the history and affairs of the establishment are well known and justly appreciated, I am indebted for nothing less than a revision of every sheet that bears at all upon these subjects—a fact which enables me to state with confidence that, whatever their merits may be in other respects, my notices deserve, at all events, to be relied upon as authentic.

I have nothing more to say. For the many imperfections that will doubtless be discovered in the work I cannot plead as an excuse either the defective nature of the subject, or my own indifference towards it. These will therefore be laid, as they ought, to the account of my deficiency of power to deal fairly by it; and as I cannot rebut the charge, so it would be idle, in this place, to deprecate the censure of that pub-

lic between which and myself an acquaintance has for so many years been established. The book has passed from my hands, and must now stand or fall, according to its own merits.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea,

October 1837.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING MATTERS PARTLY HISTORICAL,
PARTLY TRADITIONARY.

CHAPTER I.

In which facts are stated on the best authority.

GENTLE reader, has it so happened that in the course of your numerous rambles through London and its vicinity you have hitherto omitted to turn your steps towards the Royal Hospital at Chelsea? Rest assured that if the case be so, a grievous oversight has been committed ; for, noble in its design, and admirable in its system of internal administration, there is not a public establishment, among the many that do honour to the government and people of Great Britain, which advances stronger claims than this upon the attention of the curious and the high-minded. I express myself thus, not only because the hospital, considered as a charitable institution, possesses merits unknown except in its twin-sister at Greenwich ; but

because, till he shall have personally inspected the building, gone through its wards, attended divine service in its chapel, visited its infirmary, and, above all, conversed with its inmates, no English civilian can have formed any correct notion of the class of persons by whom, in every climate under heaven, the battles of his country have been fought. Let it be your care, judicious reader, to rectify your error on the first convenient opportunity; and in the mean while, that you may not be taken by surprise, the business shall be mine to throw some light into your darkness, after I have sharpened your curiosity a little by sketching in few words the circumstances that attended the rise and progress of this the old soldier's home.

There is an ancient adage or aphorism which compares human life to a road full of inequalities, and describes the changes which occur in the fortunes both of men and things as ups-and-downs. For such forms of speech wise men entertain the most profound respect; because, concentrating, as they do, the experience of ages into a single sentence, they always express

the truth ; though we may not always be able, as in the instance before us, to lay our hand upon an example of their fitness. That which is now the last retreat of England's valiant defenders was originally a seminary or place of education for controversial divines. At that critical period in the existence of the reformed Church of England, when she was sore pressed on all hands by fierce and vindictive enemies, —when her battle lay not against the Papists only, but against swarms of wild and dangerous fanatics, whom a somewhat abrupt liberation from the thralldom of Rome had called into activity,—it occurred to Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, then Dean of Exeter, that much good might be effected by the institution of a college in which theology should be studied on the pure principles of the Bible, and champions reared up by whom from age to age the cause of gospel truth might be defended. Having long pondered the project, the dean at last opened it to Henry, Prince of Wales, who welcomed it with all the warmth natural to his noble and generous character. The dean, having secured this illustrious ally, proceeded to explain himself to

King James the First, and the plan had features which would have been of themselves sufficient to secure that monarch's cordial approbation; for James, as every schoolboy knows, was himself a keen controversialist. To prevail in the discussion of a doctrinal point was in his view more noble by far than to conquer a province; and it is certain that, though he hated Popery with all his soul, he was not less opposed to fanaticism. The idea, therefore, of rearing up, under his own eye and management, a body of skilful polemics, in whom the king's confidence might be reposed, and to whom the people might look for instruction on the most important of all subjects, was embraced by him as a great stretch of human wisdom, and he hastened to assure the dean of all the support which the royal countenance could afford.

Thus fortified, Dean Sutcliffe experienced no difficulty in obtaining from Charles Earl of Nottingham an advantageous lease of a plot of land which the latter held under the crown, and which was called "Thame Shot." There he resolved to erect his college, and there, on

the 8th of May 1609, the king himself taking a lead in the ceremony, the foundation-stone was laid. Other preparations were at the same time made, as well to complete the building as to enlarge its endowments. Timber was ordered to be supplied from the royal forest of Windsor. A charter of incorporation was granted, bearing date 8th May 1610, which conferred upon the edifice the title of King James's College at Chelsea, fixed the number of its members at a provost and nineteen fellows, and enabled them to use, like other corporations, a common seal. Nor did the king's munificence end here. An act of parliament was obtained which empowered the provost and fellows to receive contributions "from his majesty, or any of his loving subjects, not exceeding in the whole the yearly value of three thousand pounds;" while to them, their successors, deputies, and assigns, was granted permission to raise money, by bringing water into London from the marshes near Hackney, and erecting engines, opening springs, and digging trenches.

Upon the work thus begun both Sutcliffe and his royal patron bestowed their most earnest

care. The former devoted to it almost the whole of his personal property, all his books, and his undivided attention ; the latter, having nothing personally to give, directed letters to be written through the archbishop to the clergy of the land, and collections to be made in the churches for so pious a purpose. But the dean's funds, though considerable for the age, were soon exhausted ; the proceeds of the king's letter proved small, and the edifice, of which, according to the taste of the times, the plan had been magnificent, advanced slowly to its completion. Out of two quadrangles which it was contemplated to erect, and of which the lesser was to be internally surrounded by a piazza, only a portion of one side was completed ; and even this, according to an indenture subsequently made out, appears to have been very mean. Still the good men who took an interest in the matter,—and day by day these increased in numbers,—were far from despairing. “The work has, we confess,” says Darley, “hitherto proceeded slowly ; and no marvel, seeing great works are not easily achieved. Noah's Ark, God's Tabernacle and

Temple, and famous schools and colleges, albeit founded by kings and great men, were long in building; and do we wonder that this college is not finished? Farther, it pleased God to deprive us of Prince Henry, our principal hope and chief author of this design. Lastly, who knows whether God has appointed these weak means to set forward a great work, that his power in our weakness might have the whole glory?"

Several causes contributed to render the king's appeal to the people through the medium of the bishops of slight avail. In the first place, the expenses attending the collection of briefs were then inordinate. The money, after it had been gathered, passed through fifty hands, each of which took care to attach a portion to itself; while the efforts made about the same time to push forward the building of St. Paul's Cathedral stood very much in the way of the completion of Chelsea College. The author of the scheme, however, though he mourned over the delay, ceased not to encourage sanguine hopes of the ultimate accomplishment of his purpose. So confident indeed, was he that

the work would come to a righteous issue, that by his will, bearing date November 1, 1628, he bequeathed to the college property of different kinds to a large amount. Besides the farms of Kingston, Hazzard, Appleton, and Kramesland, in the parishes of Slaverton, Harberton, Churchton, and Stoke Rivers, in Devonshire, of which the annual rent amounted to three hundred pounds, he assigned to the institution a tenement at Stoke Rivers, and other premises; a share in the Great Neptune, a ship belonging to Whitby in Yorkshire; his books and goods then in the college, with part of his library at Exeter. But all this was of no avail. With James the First died the only conscientious supporter whom, with the exception of the founder and a few churchmen, Chelsea College appears to have had; while the founder himself, who seems on his deathbed to have entertained some misgiving as to the issue, directed by his will that the legacies should be paid only provided "the work should not be hindered or stopped by men of corrupt minds."

If there be any justification for that species of pride which makes people plume themselves

on being the successors of men renowned in their day, the present inmates of Chelsea College have a right to look back with satisfaction to those who preceded them in the establishment. Justly concluding that he who is not observant of the important events that are passing around him can never be a safe guide in any matter affecting principle, or even opinion, the founders of "King James's College" provided that one business of its members should be to study the history of their own country, and to make their fellow-subjects partakers in their knowledge. The consequence was, that in addition to such divines as Overall, Spencer, Brett, Lilly, Prideaux, Bargrave, and others, we find the names of Camden, Spelman, and of individuals second only to Camden and Spelman, enrolled in the list of its fellows. Yet the splendour of these illustrious names sufficed not to keep up an institution of which, from the first, the policy may be doubted. At Sutcliffe's decease, in 1629, the number of fellows had diminished to fifteen; and the temper of the times held out slender hope that they would ever receive an increase.

The death of Sutcliffe operated like a blight upon the prospects of his infant college. It fell rapidly into decay, insomuch that in 1630 Lord Coventry passed a decree in chancery, that, with the consent of Dr. Featley, the third provost, and of Dr. Prideaux, the surviving feoffee under Dr. Sutcliffe's will, the farms of Kingston, Hazzard, and Appleton should revert, on payment of a sum of three hundred pounds, to Mr. Matthew Halse and Mr. Edward Meredith, the heirs-at-law of Dr. Sutcliffe. This was bad enough; but in six years afterwards a still deeper degradation was put upon the edifice. While the plague was raging with extreme violence in 1636, Sir Thomas Kynaston, Regent of the Museum Minervæ, presented a petition to the king that he might be permitted to transfer his academy to Chelsea College. I need scarcely observe that the Museum Minervæ was an academy instituted in the eleventh year of the reign of Charles the First, which held its sittings at a house in Covent Garden, and to which the nobility and gentry were alone admitted as students. To the honour of Dr. Featley, however, and of Archbishop Laud, be it

recorded that so unworthy an attempt was resisted ; as was also another, still more discreditable, to convert the college into a pest-house for the city of Westminster.

Time passed, and those melancholy discords arose under which throne, altar, liberty, and religion itself were ultimately buried. Amid the confusion of the civil wars, Chelsea College was, of course, neglected ; and when the fanatics obtained the ascendancy, an institution founded for the express purpose, among other things, of opposing their doctrines, met with little forbearance. Chelsea College was converted into a depôt for the accommodation of prisoners ; and, with the manor, of which the parliament took forcible possession, was ultimately put up to sale. Yet it had been previously applied, like the cathedrals of Canterbury and Peterborough, to a still more unworthy use. "It became," says Darley, "a cage of unclean beasts, a stable for horses ; and not only a place petitioned to make leaden guns in, but desired also for a palcestra to manage great horses and to practise horsemanship."

After groaning for some years under the yoke

of a military despot, the people of England awoke to a sense of their folly ; and, remembering all that they had suffered since, in an evil hour they broke loose from the restraints of settled government : they recalled the son of their murdered sovereign, and replaced him on the throne. Charles the Second, however, even if he had possessed any portion of his grandfather's humours, was not in a condition to take under his protection such an establishment as Chelsea College. The funds that once belonged to it were all estranged ; even the building itself, with the lands immediately attached, reverted not to the crown,—for of the manor of Chelsea Charles the First had made a grant to the Duke of Hamilton, and his son could not recall it. The king was, however, desirous of making a grant of the pile to the Royal Society, of which he was the founder ; and the representatives of Duke Hamilton readily acceded to the proposal. But after it had been conveyed to Andrew Cole in trust for that learned body, the society discovered that it was too far removed from London, and in a condition too dilapidated to be of the smallest service to them.

The consequence was, that in 1681 Sir Stephen Fox purchased it back for the king's use, at the cost of thirteen hundred pounds: an arrangement for which the president received the formal thanks of his council at the moment, and at which the nation has had up to the present hour good cause to rejoice.

So far the reader and I have travelled together over the beaten path of history. For a good deal of that which follows, I am compelled reluctantly to acknowledge that I can claim no higher authority than tradition. Yet in reference to events over which Time has rolled his heavy flood, and of which circumstances have so ordered it that no note has been taken, I am not sure that tradition ought to be treated otherwise than with respect. How many curious passages in the annals of all nations depend on tradition alone!—and who will venture to denounce them as utterly fabulous? Be this, however, as it may, till I find another tale better authenticated—till Sir Henry Ellis, or Mr. Markland, or some other antiquary of equal repute, shall place before me documents such as shall satisfy me of my mis-

take, I profess that I will believe in the present instance according to the form which my fancy delineates, and of which you, good reader, shall receive an account as soon as my ideas are properly arranged.

CHAPTER II.

Containing more matters historical, though of a different kind.

THERE is an old rule, not the less just because in practice it is too often violated, which prohibits men from forming an opinion as to the comparative excellences or defects of any public institution until they shall have made themselves acquainted with the circumstances under which it was founded, and the evils for which it was designed to supply a remedy. Probably the reader will not think that I greatly overstep the line of my legitimate duty, if on the present occasion I adhere to that rule, and, as a sort of preface to the traditionary matters of which I have undertaken to speak, lay before him a brief review of the systems of military rewards which prevailed in this coun-

try, as well as in Europe generally, prior to the erection of Chelsea Hospital.

In ancient times the recompense of military merit was everywhere the same,—namely, donations of money or land, or both, proportionate in extent and value to the rank and services of the meritorious warrior. Under free governments, or such as had once been free, soldiers of every class partook in the state's bounty. The Athenians, besides maintaining out of the public fund all disabled and wounded soldiers, took care of the parents and children of such as fell in battle; while the Romans settled their discharged legionaries in villages, called colonies, where each man occupied a farm on a sort of military tenure, perfectly independent of all the world besides. In like manner, the followers of those barbarous chiefs before whose might the colossal power of Rome gave way, received, as the recompense of their valour, glebes or fields, which they cultivated for their own use, and bequeathed to their children, subject only to such conditions as a regard to the welfare of the community might impose. But the Northern barbarians came, as the Romans had done

before them, into lands where equal rights were unknown, and practices, often loosely attributed to the feudal system, everywhere prevailed. The Gaulic Celts were divided from their birth into three classes, the nobles, the priests, and the common people,—of which the two first alone possessed political influence, while the last were mere serfs and villains. As it formed no part of the policy of the Huns and Goths to impose their own laws and customs on the vanquished, and as it is not very easy for two people to dwell together and yet retain each its distinct manners, the invaders gradually assumed that station in society which the native nobility had occupied before them, and there grew up everywhere arrangements in social life, which in due time cut off the common soldier from all participation in the rewards which had heretofore been bestowed equally upon him and upon his leader.

Under the feudal system, as it showed itself in the days of William the Conqueror, the possession of land continued to be the great object of ambition; and William was very liberal in his grants of lordships and manors to the chiefs

who aided him in his contest with Harold. It was on knights and barons, however, and on them alone, that these rich prizes were bestowed; for of the private soldiers no heed was taken, except, indeed, that each baron, attaching a certain portion of these to his own fortunes, carried them down to his estate, and used them there, so soon as the army broke up, as instruments for oppressing and plundering his neighbours. In like manner, during the unsettled and turbulent reigns of many of the succeeding monarchs, though estates continually changed their owners, they passed only from one great chief to another; for the spirit of feudalism was entirely opposed to the subdivision of land; and in that species of spoil, as it came day by day to be disposed of, the leaders of armies or the heads of factions alone partook. Yet were the followers of these rapacious barons far from suffering neglect. The supreme government, indeed, knew them not, — for the supreme government dealt only with persons who were in a condition to bring certain proportions of horse and foot into the field; but the baron himself was induced, both by honour

and self-interest, to provide for the old age of such as had served him faithfully. Many common soldiers became, therefore, hangers-on about the castle,—foresters, dog-feeders, hawk-trainers, seneschals, &c. ; while others fell back into the station of serfs, and, cultivating the soil for their lord's benefit, received out of its produce the sort of sustenance to which in early life they had been accustomed.

Time passed, and the supreme government becoming daily more settled and more vigorous, not only were forfeitures of less frequent occurrence, but the custom of rewarding individual fidelity or prowess with grants of land began to be intermitted. The crown had learned to value its estates, and desired to retain them ; and the spirit of chivalry taught warriors to be satisfied, provided their services were acknowledged by some honorary distinction. From Edward the First's time down to the era of the wars of the two roses, to be created a banneret, or to have some addition made to his armorial bearings, was, generally speaking, enough to satisfy the most ambitious. It is true that, during the last-mentioned period.

many of the great estates in the kingdom changed hands ; yet the indiscriminate use of grants was not, as heretofore, brought into play, meritorious individuals being recompensed by annuities, or by presents of small sums of money. In proportion as this order of things became fairly established, the common soldier necessarily suffered ; and it may not be irrelevant if I endeavour to point out both the causes of its establishment, and the way in which it injuriously affected the class of persons of whom I am especially called upon to speak.

The tendency of feudalism was to create between the noble and his vassals a sort of connexion, which neither has existed, nor can exist, under any other form of social life. superseding entirely that earlier system of public defence, which required every man, and especially every landowner, to protect his country, it substituted the relations of retainer and chief for that of subject and sovereign ; and, in so doing, not only gave to the chieftain a perfect right to the services of his vassal while available, but threw the vassal, in cases of sickness, wounds, or old age, as a burthen to be maintained, on the

chief. The feudal system, however, began, so early as the first crusade, to sustain a shock. I do not mean to say that, prior to that event, valour was not to be purchased with money in modern Europe: on the contrary, in the Hircarles, or body-guard of Canute the Great, which consisted of six thousand men, and on whose discipline he mainly relied for the subjugation of England, we find what may fairly be termed a regular, if not a standing army;* while Harold the Second kept constantly in pay a body of Danish adventurers of tried courage and inured to war. The army which followed William the Conqueror, likewise, was in some sense a mercenary army; that is to say, the chiefs came on an assurance of participating in the spoils of the vanquished, and hired from all the countries of Europe soldiers who were willing to peril life and limb in exchange for a fixed monthly stipend. But with the close of the war terminated the particular paction

* The substance of the stern code which preserved the discipline of Canute's body-guard is still extant: it presents a singular mixture of severity and mildness,—of absolute authority not untempered by much of individual licence.

by which the one class led and the other followed ; and then the nobles either disbanded their retainers, by letting them loose upon the country, or carried them, as has already been stated, down to their estates, where they became instruments not only of profit, but of honour. Still, as a general rule, it may be assumed that the feudal system was in itself opposed to the use of mercenary armies ; and these instances are quoted as confirming the statement, according to the ancient proverb, which says, "*exceptio probat regulam.*"

The feudal military system, however effectual it might be for purposes of intestine quarrel, and even of defence against foreign invasion, was quite inadequate to the maintenance of any aggressive war which went beyond the limits of a mere expedition. No man's term of service exceeded forty days from the date of the army's assembling ; and in forty days I need hardly point out that very little could be done. When, therefore, the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre became an object with the nobles of the West, they were driven to adopt new methods in order to accomplish it. Many of them sold their estates,

thereby separating themselves for ever from the tenants and villains over whom they had heretofore presided ; and, hiring out of the produce mercenary troops, carried them into Palestine. Few of the soldiers thus conveyed beyond seas ever returned ; while they who did return, being destitute of natural protectors, betook themselves, for the most part, to plunder as a profession. And the example thus set was not without force, both upon the chiefs and their retainers. The former, perceiving how easily a burdensome expense could be got rid of, gradually relaxed in their attention to their useless followers ; the latter, placed in numerous instances under lords with whom they had no community of feeling, became less and less devoted to their protectors. But it was the conviction, on the part of the supreme government, of the great superiority of a paid army over a feudal militia, which told most effectually in this matter. Edward the First and Edward the Second made use, it is true, chiefly of the feudal array, particularly in the wars which they waged in Scotland ; but the armies which won for Edward the Third, his

son, and his renowned nobles, to much honour, were composed almost entirely of troops hired for the occasion.

I have not been able to ascertain what provision was made for the declining years of the brave men who followed these warriors into the field. The mode in which they were raised would, indeed, seem to imply that each squadron and company looked to its immediate commander for compensation ; and doubtless the case was so, as far as any compensation was given ; for at the period of which I am now writing, the king, when he desired to embody an army, contracted with bishops, earls, and barons, allotting to each a certain amount of daily pay, according to the number of horse and foot soldiers which he undertook to furnish. It was not, however, by the operation of this cause alone, that the tie between the chief and his vassal became gradually dissolved. The growth of free towns, particularly of the maritime towns, tended to throw the great body of the people more and more on their own resources. In England, the sovereigns, anxious to erect a power which they might balance against that of

the nobility, gave charters with a willing hand to such boroughs and cities as chose to apply for them ; and these as they raised men for the king's service, so they provided for them when the service was at an end,—if maimed, by contributions out of the common purse,—if unhurt, by readmitting them to the privileges of township. Nor were the nobles averse to follow the example : what the sovereign did from motives of policy, they performed through the lust of wealth ; and free towns became multiplied in consequence throughout all the counties.

In exact proportion to the decay of the feeling of mutual protection and allegiance which originally bound the lord to his tenant and the tenant to his lord, was the worn-out soldier cut off from the sources of established support which had been accessible to his ancestors. It is true that the convent door still stood open, and there, especially if he had served against the infidels, an alms was freely given. But casual charity, however frequent, could furnish no compensation for the loss of a maintenance which every change in the manners of society rendered more and more insecure ; for not only

the effects of a growing commerce, which diffused wealth more and more equally through the different classes; but the spirit of chivalry itself, strange as the assertion may sound, was all against the private soldier. When foreign wars ceased to demand his presence, the knight was continually on the look-out for private grievances to be redressed at home. He was therefore just as ready to take up the quarrel of the dissatisfied vassal against his chief, as of the wronged maiden against her betrayer; and it is a fact to which all experience bears witness, that nothing tends so much to produce estrangement between the superior and his dependant, as the knowledge that there is a third party standing by, who is eager to be employed in the adjudication of their differences.

To the effect of these combined causes the feudal system so far yielded, that the barons ceased to take the field at the head of their retainers, and, of course, to treat these retainers both at home and abroad as humble members of their own family. Still the country was not without its militia, of which the constitution continued to be in some sort feudal,

inasmuch as laws were passed which compelled landowners, merchants, and others, to provide according to a scale, in which the properties of individuals were calculated, men, horses, and arms for the public service. But the true spirit of feudalism could not be tampered with even thus partially. That which used to be the duty and the pride of the noble, devolved on the sheriff or justice of the peace, under whom arrays of counties and boroughs were occasionally held ; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that of the men thus mustered little account was taken, except that recruits were raised from among them, by pressing or otherwise, as often as the exigencies of the state required. For long after France had her standing army,—an institution which she owed to Charles VII. 1444,—England continued to wage her wars with levies enrolled for each separate occasion ; nor was it till the Revolution that parliament, jealous of its liberties, gave a formal consent to innovate, under the most rigid restrictions, upon the practice.

Of any systematic plan for the relief of wounded or discharged soldiers, from the downfall of the feudal system up to Elizabeth's reign, I can-

not discover a trace. Occasional instances of royal bounty are indeed recorded ; as, for example, in the reign of Edward IV. when grants were made to private soldiers,—one to John Sclatter, being an annuity of four marks as a compensation for the loss of his hand at the battle of Wakefield, —the other to Rauf Vestynden, a pension of ten pounds, by letters patent under the great seal, till he should obtain some permanent office. The latter, which, considering the value of money at the time, was a very handsome provision, is stated in the patent as having been bestowed “for the good and agreeable service which he did unto us in beryng and holdyng our standard of the black bull at the battle of Sherborne.” But such occurrences were probably rare ; at all events, chroniclers take no notice of them.

With the reign of Elizabeth we open out, as it were, a new era in the history of this country. In the first place, England then began to play a more conspicuous part in the game of European politics than she had yet done since the days of her Edwards ; and her armaments, both by sea and land, were consequently on a larger scale.

In the next place, the work of the Reformation being completed, amid the unsparing plunder of the property of the church, some evils were felt to accompany the benefits thence arising. The suppression of the monasteries, and the transference of a large portion of the tithes to lay impropriators, placed the clergy and the great body of the people in a new relation one towards another. The former were no longer in a condition to bestow those abundant alms, on which the latter had, doubtless, too much depended ; and the latter, unable either to find employment or to subsist without it, suffered severe privations. For great changes had for some time been carried forward in the system of culture and general management of the soil, which consolidating occupations and enclosing commons, had reduced multitudes of the peasantry to a state of absolute pauperism. These being cut off from their last resource, the priests' bounty, became desperate ; insomuch that parliament found it necessary to institute a system of compulsory relief, out of which, however humanely it might have been intended, enormous evils unquestionably arose. With the

country in such a state, it would have been both impolitic and cruel to exclude the discharged soldier from the same kind of assistance which was awarded to the destitute peasant. Accordingly, by statute 43 of this reign, "the majority of the justices of the peace in their Easter sessions had power to charge every parish towards a weekly relief of maimed soldiers and mariners, so that no parish should pay weekly above ten-pence, or below two-pence; nor any county which consisted of above fifty parishes to pay more than six-pence, one parish with another; which sums so taxed were to be assessed in every parish by the parishioners,—or, in default, by the churchwardens and constables,—or, in their default, by the next justice or justices of peace."*

The powers given to the constables, churchwardens, and justices in levying this tax, were very summary. Against any person refusing to pay, they could proceed by distress and sale, and the parties receiving were required to pay in the amount quarterly, ten days before the sessions, to the high constable of the division,—who,

* Grose's Military Antiquities.

again, handed it over, during the sessions, to the treasurer of the county. Meanwhile, the forms to be attended to by the applicant for temporary or permanent relief were these :— The maimed soldier or mariner, who had been pressed, was to repair, if in a fit state to travel, to the treasurer of the county in which his impressment took place ; if he had enlisted voluntarily, to the treasurer of the county where he was born, or where he had last resided for the space of three years ; and last of all, if so disabled as to be incapable of travelling at all, to the treasurer of the county in which he had landed. Before one or other of these functionaries he was to produce a certificate, under the hand and seal of his captain or commanding officer, setting forth the particulars of his hurts and services ; which certificate was to be allowed by the muster-master, or receiver-general of the muster-rolls. Upon this “the treasurer aforesaid shall allow him relief to maintain him until the next quarter session, at which the major part of the justices may allow him a pension, which the treasurer shall pay to him quarterly, until it be revoked or altered by the said

justices : and this allowance to him that hath not borne office (has not been a commissioned officer) may not exceed ten pounds, to an officer under a lieutenant fifteen pounds, to a lieutenant twenty pounds."

Such is the substance of the act of parliament which first gave to the wounded and war-worn soldier a legal claim upon the bounty of his countrymen. It will be seen, however, that the footing on which it placed him was not of a nature to raise him in his own estimation, or in that of the people generally. He was treated as a pauper—not as one who had served his king, or shed his blood in defence of the land which doled out its unwilling alms to keep him from starving. Yet were the provisions thus made very imperfectly applied. With Elizabeth, indeed, expired for a time the martial feeling both of the court and the people ; and old soldiers, like things out of date, were cast aside and forgotten.

The reign of James was a peaceable one, and its duration — two-and-twenty years — sufficed to thin the numbers, at all times inconsiderable, of decayed soldiers in England. With

the accession of Charles the First, a different prospect opened. First, his foreign wars,—if indeed such expeditions as those to Cadiz and Rochelle deserve the name,—and latterly, the terrible struggle in which he engaged with his parliament, put arms into the hands of a large portion of the male population throughout the kingdom. Yet the royal exchequer was from the beginning to the end of the contest so thoroughly impoverished, that not only was the king unable to provide for his wounded and disabled adherents, but the means of paying the troops actually in the field were generally wanting. It was not so with the parliament. Wielding a large share of the authority, and having complete command over the resources of the nation, that body was enabled to act in a more liberal spirit. Accordingly, on the 6th of March 1643, an act was passed for the relief of maimed soldiers, as well as of the widows and orphans of men slain in battle, by imposing upon the parishes from which such soldiers might have enlisted a tax or assessment adequate to the necessity of each case. Such tax was to be levied by the same process and under the same

authority as a poor-rate ; and care was of course to be taken that none should derive benefit from it except those who, in their own persons, or by their husbands or fathers, had served the cause of the people against the sovereign.

Whatever might be the situation of the parliamentary invalids, Charles the Second found, on reascending the throne of his ancestors, that the men who had followed his father's fortunes and suffered wounds in his cause were everywhere turned loose to beg their bread. Careless, but not wholly destitute of heart, the king early adopted measures with a view of bettering their condition as far as his limited means would allow, and passed, in the twelfth year of his reign, an act which secured to discharged soldiers certain immunities. Such of them as had been apprentices were permitted to exercise the trades to which they were bound, even if they had failed to serve out their time ; while others were authorised to follow, in any town or place within their native counties, any occupations for which they might be fitted. But to give a starving man leave to follow a regular calling, without at the same time furnishing

him with means to begin business, is to contribute in a very slender degree to the amelioration of his fortunes. In spite of this well-intended law, and of the old statute of Elizabeth, which still continued in force, both town and country swarmed with mendicants, almost all of whom, many doubtless unfairly, represented themselves as decayed loyalists. It was at this juncture that the circumstance is said to have befallen, of which a statement will be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Containing matter not more dependant on tradition than on official documents.

PERHAPS there is no portion of English history over which the general reader is less willing to linger than that which is included between the restoration of Charles the Second and the expulsion of his brother from the throne of these realms. Many periods may doubtless be found that are marked by darker crime,—many during which the amount of public suffering was greater. Such, indeed, from the beginning to the end, was the epoch of the first Charles, as well as of the anomalous constitution that succeeded the monarchy,—more especially after the farce of a commonwealth had been played to its last act, and ended, as similar experiments always must, in a despotism. But neither the domestic sorrows that over-

shadowed the reign of Charles the First, nor the systematised hypocrisy and tyranny that ensued, excite in our minds, however faithfully described, the sense of deep—I had almost said of personal shame, which never fails to accompany a perusal of our country's annals while its destinies were yet swayed by the son of the royal martyr. For, whatever might be the mistakes committed by the martyr in the cabinet,—in the field, and on the scaffold, he commands our admiration; which is likewise given, without reserve, to the gallantry and disinterestedness of his followers; while even of the regicides we think as of men, ambitious—it may be, cruel, turbulent, and unjust,—but bold in their conceptions, and high-minded in their very guilt. We may therefore shudder as we peruse the tale of wars waged and murders committed under the pretext of zeal for religion, or to promote civil liberty; but there is no blush brought into our cheeks by the contemplation of scenes such as would have disgraced Rome herself, in the worst times of her voluptuous emperors, and amid the total decay of her people's virtues.

How different are the feelings with which we turn to the page on which is inscribed the tale of the restoration ! Not to speak of the political debasement of the country,—its abject submission to the will of France abroad, the total absence of patriotism and public spirit at home,—our moral sense is shocked by the display which everywhere meets the eye, of undisguised meanness and ostentatious depravity. Religion, honour, chastity, truth—nay, the commonest rules of decency, which, where a better principle is wanting, serve to cast a veil at least over most men's vices, appear to have been treated by the *merry* monarch and his friends as subjects only for ridicule. What scenes of licentiousness and profligacy do the letters and biographies of the age bring to light ! Of these the historian may make unwilling use, while the common reader, through lack of opportunity, passes them by ; but he whom circumstances may have compelled to look further into the subject is forced to acknowledge that neither the virtues of Clarendon, nor the honesty of Evelyn, nor the piety of Taylor, nor the merits of Temple, ought to

shield from the contempt of mankind the memory of an age which could treat Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Rochester, Arlington, and Wilmot, as its principal ornaments.

Among the many profligate persons whose presence casts discredit on the court of Charles the Second, none exercised more influence over the mind of the monarch, nor, generally speaking, exercised it to a better purpose, than Nell Gwynne. The daughter of a London tradesman who had failed in business, Nell received in childhood such an education as persons in her circumstances were accustomed to receive, and entered life as a sort of upper servant and companion to an elderly lady, a distant relative of her father. It is said that Mr. Gwynne, himself a Puritan, endeavoured early to imbue the mind of his daughter with his own views of religion, but that she resisted his efforts. Probably the rumour is well founded, for the fashion of profaneness had then entered into every circle, and Nell was a great deal too volatile not to acknowledge its influence. But however this may be, we find her, after a brief sojourn under the roof of her mistress, returned

as an incorrigible flirt to her father, who, in order to avert the ruin with which she appeared to be threatened, insisted upon her removing for a time into the country. Nell, however, whose great passion was vanity, took counsel of her looking-glass, which assured her that, sooner or later, she should rise to eminence; and, instead of complying with her father's wishes, she fled from his house, and established herself in lodgings under an assumed name. Her fancy as yet was for the stage. She studied a few parts with great care, and made a tender of her services to the manager of one of the theatres. But the manager, though he admired her beauty, and acknowledged that her tones were mellow and her manner sprightly, pronounced her destitute of all talent as an actress. Nell was greatly cast down by the repulse; but, though convinced that one door to preferment was closed against her, she did not yet distrust her fortune, and fell upon the following strange device, in the hope of discovering another.

At the period of which I am writing, the avenues to the green-rooms were attended re-

gularly by women who sold oranges, nuts, sweetmeats, and other confections, to the players and their guests. Among these orange-wenches Nell Gwynne took her station, and the event on which she had calculated as of probable occurrence soon came to pass. Her extreme beauty attracted the notice and won the heart of one of the principal performers, who became her tutor in the histrionic art, treated her with perfect delicacy, and proposed to make her his wife. But Nell had already entered upon a career of which the result is in most instances the same; and being devoid of all principles, not only of religion, but of self-respect, she soon forfeited her claim to be accounted virtuous. I am not going to follow her through the different stages in her profligate life: enough is done when I state that, after passing from one to another—after having been the mistress of a Mr. Deverant, of Lord Rupert, Lord Wilmot, and the Duchess of Beau's brother, she finally attracted the notice of the king himself, with whom she lived in great favour up to the day of his death.

There are few men or women so utterly de-

praved as to be destitute of some good quality of temper or manner, or both, which, though it neither casts nor ought to cast a veil over the vices with which it may be associated, serves the purpose, at least, of redeeming human nature from a sentence of absolute condemnation. Even Nell Gwynne, immoral and irreligious as she was, possessed a kind heart and a liberal disposition ; while her devotion to her royal master appears to have been far more disinterested than the peculiar situation in which she stood might have led us to expect. A tale of distress, whether real or feigned, is said always to have commanded her pity ; and her bounty never failed to flow when her feelings were excited. Neither was she indifferent to the claims of merit in obscurity, or of genius in distress. Her exertions to secure for the author of *Hudibras* some reward more substantial than the empty admiration of the court are well known ; and though she failed, she is not the less entitled to the praise of having done a just as well as a generous action. But the circumstance which above all others sheds a lustre even over her frail fame, is the part which she is stated to

have played in the establishment of Chelsea Hospital. The following narrative of the events as they occurred, though it rests chiefly on tradition, seems to be supported by better evidence than usually attaches to tales of the kind,—for it is more or less alluded to in almost all the periodical publications of the day, and has been thought not unworthy of record by Pen-nant himself.

Charles the Second, as is well known, seldom permitted any considerations of prudence or precept to stand between him and the gratification of his humours. He was always poor, because he was always inconsiderate ; while his acts of liberality were for the most part unjust, because they were applied to unworthy objects. His mistresses he loaded with grants, while those who had sacrificed fortune and health in his father's service were neglected. Among other instances of bounty which was not misplaced, only because the object of it happened to be unlike the generality of her order, was the gift to Nell Gwynne of the lands formerly belonging to King James's College, and which, as I stated in a previous chapter, had been purchased back at

the cost of thirteen hundred pounds from the Royal Society. There Nell inhabited a cottage, of which the garden stretched down to the Thames ; and there, in a summer-house which, though in an altered form, still remains, overhanging the river and commanding a splendid view of London, she was in the habit, particularly in the summer months, of entertaining her royal lover, and such guests as accompanied him.

“It chanced on a certain occasion,” says the anonymous author of her memoirs, “as she was rolling about town in her coach, that a poor man came to the coach-door, who told her a story, whether true or false is immaterial, of his having been wounded in the civil wars in defence of the royal cause.” Such an appeal found a ready response in “the benevolent heart of Eleanor,” who hurried back to the king, related all that had passed, and implored him to think of some scheme by which so crying an evil might be remedied, and the honour of his government retrieved. I do not know how far the idea of founding an hospital for decayed soldiers had or had not occurred to Charles ; I am still less qualified to hazard an opinion as to the

particular suggestions which Nell might have offered : but in either case, whether the design originated with her, or was the offspring of his own deliberations, there was a precedent before them which both were doubtless prompt to follow. In 1670, Louis the Fourteenth had founded the Hôtel Royal des Invalides at Paris, and the renown which attached to the proceeding was not unlikely to rouse in Charles a wish to earn similar honours. The consequence was, that the project seems to have been early entertained ; and Sir Stephen Fox, at that time paymaster of the forces, coming into it with great zeal, nothing remained but to make choice of a proper site, and to raise funds for the purposes of building and endowment.

Things were in this state when the troops returned from Tangier, after a service which reduced many of them to a helpless condition through wounds and sickness. As a matter of course, all such as were disabled advanced claims similar to those of Nell's protégé on the benevolence of the country, and the king's anxiety to set about the erection of the hospital was sharpened. Sir Stephen Fox, likewise, felt warmly on the subject ; and the necessity of

realising schemes, which as yet had floated vaguely through the royal mind, became every day more urgent.

Once more tradition assigns to Nell the honour of settling a point which had too long been at issue. She was sitting with Charles in her summer-house at Chelsea, of which one of the windows overlooked the meadows surrounding King James's College, when the paymaster of the forces entered, and the subject of the projected hospital and of the difficulty of finding a proper site was resumed. "Your majesty could not do better," said Sir Stephen Fox, "than give up for the purpose your recent purchase from the Royal Society." "'Tis well thought of," replied the king, casting his eye over the plot of ground. "You shall have it:" but recollecting himself, he instantly added. "Odso! I forgot,—I have already given this land to Nell here." "Have you so, Charles?" exclaimed Nell gaily: "then I will return it to you again for so good a purpose." The generous offer was accepted; and Nell being transferred to a mansion which the king built for her in Pall Mall, Thame Shot, with the meadows

and closes adjacent, were set apart for the use of the hospital.

It appeared as if the adjustment of this preliminary matter had been all that was wanting to set the machine in motion ;—in other words, that having once obtained a site for their building, the king and his advisers were disposed to treat lightly every other obstacle to the accomplishment of their purpose. The conversation described above occurred some time in the autumn of 1681. On the 22nd of December a warrant was issued, announcing the royal intention of founding an hospital for the relief of decayed soldiers, and constituting the paymaster of the land-forces “ receiver-general and treasurer of all such monies as should from time to time be given or paid towards erecting the said hospital, or the support and maintenance thereof.”

Meanwhile, Sir Stephen, being requested by the king to draw up the form of a constitution for the new establishment, called to his aid John Evelyn, who, on the 27th of January 1682, makes the following entry in his journal : “ This evening Sir Stephen Fox

acquainted me again with his majesty's resolution of proceeding in the erection of a royal hospital for emerited soldiers, on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to his majesty for thirteen hundred pounds; and that he would settle five thousand pounds per annum on it, and build to the value of twenty thousand pounds, for the relief and reception of four companies, viz. four hundred men, to be as a colledge or monastery. I was therefore desired by Sir Stephen (who had not only the whole management of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the souldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So in his study we set down the governor, chaplaine, steward, housekeeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needs have a library, and mentioned several books, since some souldiers might possibly be studious when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set down our thoughts

to be considered and digested better, to shew his majesty and the archbishop. He also engaged me to consider what laws and orders were fit for the government, which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent."

While Evelyn thus employed himself in digesting the details of its internal economy, Sir Stephen Fox was busy with his master in making such arrangements as might place at their disposal funds sufficient for the establishment of the hospital itself. No appeal seems to have been made, as in King James's day, to the public at large; but while the voluntary contributions of the charitable were received with gratitude, the troops were, in some sort, burthened with the expenses of the asylum from which they were themselves to derive the sole benefit. I need scarcely observe, that during the reign of Charles the Second, the standing army of England was very inconsiderable, its numbers scarcely amounting at one period to five thousand men, and never exceeding eight thousand. From the pay issued to these, a deduction was ordered to be made of

one shilling in the pound ; which being divided into three equal parts, was devoted, one to defray the expenses of the paymaster's office, one to the general uses of the soldiers, and one to the accumulation of a fund, first for the building, and ultimately for the maintenance of the hospital. By giving to this regulation a retrospective effect, so as to include the whole of the year 1680, and strengthened by donations of 1300*l.* from Sir Stephen Fox, of 1000*l.* from Tobias Rustas, Esq., of 1000*l.* from Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and of nearly 7000*l.* from the secret service fund, the projectors of the establishment had at their disposal a sum of 17,012*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* with which they determined to make a beginning. The consequence was, that on the 12th of March 1682, the foundation-stone of Chelsea Hospital was laid, Charles himself taking the lead in a ceremony which was witnessed by all the principal nobility and gentry of the kingdom.

Begun on a scale of great magnificence by its gifted architect Sir Christopher Wren, the building of the hospital went on so slowly, that neither Charles nor James enjoyed the satis-

faction of beholding it complete. In 1687 it had indeed advanced so far, that Lord Ranelagh, then paymaster-general of the forces, made a report to his majesty, in which he represented the edifice as capable of accommodating four hundred and sixteen men, with a governor, chaplain, curate, physician, secretary, treasurer, housekeeper, and sixteen matrons. But the views of the king's government extended much beyond this. Other civil functionaries had been named, such as a surgeon, apothecary, steward, comptroller, caterer, wardrobe-keeper, upholsterer, master cook, two under cooks, master butler, two under butlers, chief baker, under baker, barber, sexton, usher of the hall, porter, under porter, eight matrons for the infirmary, and six washerwomen. For these it would be necessary to provide apartments; and as it entered into the project of the court to give to the establishment a decidedly military character, the officers who should administer the discipline of the place, and do what is technically called the duty, must likewise be accommodated. Thus Lord Ranelagh, who had suggested the distribution of the invalids

into nine companies, to be commanded by nine lieutenants, as many ensigns, with a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major, applied for leave to purchase certain parcels of land adjoining to the hospital, upon which such further buildings should be erected as the state of the case might require. I do not find that any objections were offered to this proposition, and the labours of the architect continued to be called into operation till two years subsequently to the revolution.

I have never been able to ascertain the exact date at which the veterans took possession of their new abode. That some of them were domiciled in Chelsea, during the latter part of the reign of James II. seems, however, to be proved by the fact, that the covering for the altar, pulpit, and desk in the chapel, as well as the magnificent communion plate and black-letter Prayer-books which belong to it, were the gift of that monarch. Nor are traditions wanting relative to the efforts made by the king to bring back his decayed soldiers within the pale of the Church of Rome. He is said to have paid frequent visits to the hospital, appealing

first to one and then to another of the inmates, till a fine old warrior on a certain occasion cut him short in a manner which he could neither forgive nor resent. "Why should not you adopt the religion of your prince?" said James. "Please your majesty," was the reply, "I was once a Catholic; I then became a Protestant; and I should be very happy to go back to your majesty's religion again, only when I was at Tangier, I entered into an agreement, that the next time I changed my creed, I should become a Turk."—James was mortally offended at this reply, and ceased to importune the pensioners farther.

While the hospital was in progress,—that is, from 1682 till the admission of the invalids,—provision seems to have been made for their support by pensions granted out of the fund set apart for the purposes of the building. Of these, all, considering the value of money at the time, were liberal, while some may be accounted magnificent. Thus, to a worn-out gentleman of the horse-guards was granted one shilling and sixpence a day; to a corporal of light horse, the same; to a private of light horse, a shilling; to

a horse grenadier, a shilling; to a corporal of dragoons, nine pence; to a private dragoon, sixpence; to a gunner, seven pence; to a serjeant of infantry, eleven pence; to a corporal, seven pence; to a drummer, seven pence; to a private, five pence. But it will be easily understood that funds which amounted in all to little more than twelve thousand pounds a year could afford such pensions only to a small number of persons. Hence the reader will not be surprised to learn, that so late as 1689, the total amount of veterans subsisting upon the bounty of the crown was five hundred and seventy-nine men. These, including nineteen gentlemen of the horse-guards, four corporals of light horse, thirty-three light horsemen, and seventy-five serjeants, cost the commissioners an annual expenditure of six thousand and eighty-seven pounds; leaving for the purposes of the institution six thousand pounds disposable.

The expulsion of the house of Stuart produced no injurious effect upon the fortunes of Chelsea Hospital. The project had been from the first approved of by the country, and William,

himself a soldier, was not disposed to stop short in an undertaking which had for its object the comfort of his soldiers' latter days. On the contrary, he sanctioned a still farther increase to the building, pressed it forward till it was completed, issued an order for the filling up of all vacancies in the establishment, and signed a warrant in favour of Lord Ranelagh, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir Christopher Wren, giving them authority "to settle and ascertain the proportions and kinds of victuals they should judge most convenient for the said persons; to make contracts for the same and for clothing; to nominate and put in such under officers as are wanting; and to propose rules, orders, and regulations." This was followed by a new grant of "one day's pay yearly out of the payments to be made to the guards, garrisons, and land forces, to be applied towards the building and furnishing the Royal Hospital near Chelsea, and towards the better maintenance of such superannuated and disabled officers and soldiers as should be provided therein;" while the original donation was put upon a more certain footing, twelve thousand pounds a year being

allotted in lieu of the fraction of the poundage of army-pay which Charles the Second had secured to the hospital.

It seems from the beginning to have been the intention of the crown to render the commissionerships of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea patent offices, though no patent was issued either by Charles or James. For William the draft of a patent appears indeed to have been made out, but it was never signed ; and hence, whatever authority Lord Ranelagh and his coadjutors exercised was derived from the king's warrant alone. In the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, however, letters patent were issued, which have ever since been renewed at the accession of each new sovereign to the throne. By these, "John How, Esq. paymaster-general of and for all our guards, garrisons, and forces, (except those employed or to be employed by us for our service in Ireland, and except such regiments or forces as are or shall be under the care of our high admiral of England or commissioners of the admiralty for the time being, and excepting our army now in the Low Countries ;) our trusty and well-beloved Sir Christopher Wren, Knight,

surveyor-general of our works ; Charles Fox, Esq. paymaster of our forces in the Low Countries, and the governor and deputy governor for the time being, are constituted commissioners for the better management of the affairs of our Royal Hospital at Chelsea." Their power extended "to the selection and proportioning of the diet of such persons as now are or shall hereafter be fed and victualled" within the building ; "to making contracts" with any person or persons for furnishing the same ; to "clothing" the pensioners ; "washing their linen ;" "keeping in good order, repairing and maintaining the several courts, gardens, walks, avenues, and lights belonging,"—and finally, "to the appointing, from time to time, such and so many under officers and servants as are or shall at any time or times hereafter be wanting in our said hospital, and to the removing or displacing of them or any of them as to the said commissioners might seem meet." These instructions, together with an absolute control over all matters of expenditure and finance, placed the whole power of general administration in the hands of the commissioners, any three of

whom were declared competent to form a board, and of course to act independently of their colleagues.

Behold, then, in the year 1702, Chelsea Hospital complete in all its parts; the buildings finished, the gardens laid out and planted, and the roll of officers, soldiers, servants, and other functionaries filled up. With officers, as well commissioned as warrant, the establishment was liberally supplied. It had a governor and lieutenant-governor, a major, and an adjutant, to whom were committed the care of attending to the internal discipline of the garrison. It had two chaplains to take care of the morals and faith of the men; a physician, a surgeon, an apothecary, and a surgeon's mate, to attend them in illness; a secretary, with clerks and assistants, to carry on the correspondence; a deputy treasurer to receive and administer the supplies; a steward, a comptroller, a clerk of the works with a deputy, a wardrobe-keeper, and comptroller of the coal-yard. Then, again, for the management of other departments, I find enumerated in Queen Anne's warrant, a master cook, a second cook, with

their under cooks; a scullery-man with two assistants, a master butler and three under butlers, a barber and servants, a sexton, an usher of the hall, a yeoman of the coal-yard, a porter, two sweepers, and a turncock and water-engine keeper. All of these, as well as a housekeeper, with twenty-four matrons or nurses, were taken upon the permanent strength of the establishment, and all received salaries proportioned to the rank which they held, and the supposed importance of the duties which they were required to discharge.

With respect to the men, including under that head all the worn-out non-commissioned officers and soldiers admitted within the walls, they seem from the first to have been, both as to numbers and advantages, pretty much in the same condition in which we find them now. They amounted in all to four hundred and seventy-six; of whom twenty-six were rated as captains, thirty-two as lieutenants, thirty-four as light horse, thirty-two as ensigns, the remainder as drummers and privates.

It is not, however, to be supposed that the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns were, or ever had

been, commissioned officers. As soldiers, they had served in the ranks ;—as members of the hospital, they were rated by virtue of the king's warrant, and took quarters, the captain in a separate room at one end of the ward or barrack in which his company lay,—the lieutenant, in a similar apartment at the other. They were, in fact, originally what they are now, non-commissioned officers, and received over and above their rations a money-pay upon the following scale :—To each captain was granted sixpence a day, or three shillings and sixpence per week ; to each lieutenant, two shillings monthly ; to each ensign, ten pence. It is worthy of remark, that the two latter,—that is, the lieutenant and ensign,—have now exchanged their titles for the more significant appellation of serjeant and corporal ; and that the captains, being chiefly old and well-behaved men, have been transferred from the common wards to quarters especially allotted to them.

Of the light horse, (or rather, of those who answered to that classification,) many, being the younger sons of gentlemen, belonged to an order in society not in some respects dissimilar to

the *garde du corps* of the kings of France ;—that is to say, they purchased their situations, were treated on service as cadets, and took rank in the hospital next to the captains. These privileges they shared in common with other horsemen of inferior rank, and both were exempt from duty of every kind, except that of furnishing a sentry at the governor's door. Their weekly stipend amounted to two shillings, while that of the privates was only eight pence.

Thus stood the Royal Hospital at Chelsea at the opening of the reign of Queen Anne. Concerning the partial changes which its constitution has since undergone, and the services of some of its former inmates, the reader will obtain more information as he goes on.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing dry matters of detail, which the reader may pass over, if he be so disposed, without any detriment to the thread of our history.

A REFERENCE to the journals of Chelsea Hospital shows that the general administration of what may be termed the remuneration fund,—including the expenses of the establishment itself, and the payments made to out-pensioners, whose incomes were entered in the books,—was early entrusted to a sort of committee of privy counsellors. At a board held on the 5th of July 1712, for example, there were present the Lord Archbishop of York, the Earl of Abingdon, the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of London, General Earle, the Governor of the Hospital, Sir Christopher Wren, the Comptroller of the Army, and the Lieutenant-governor

of the Hospital. The object of that meeting seems to have been not only to administer the affairs of the hospital itself, but to arrange some plan for considering and disposing of the claims of discharged soldiers generally—of whom, in consequence of the long war to which the peace of Utrecht put an end, multitudes had been thrown loose upon the country. The latter, however, was not an easy task, inasmuch as no legislative provision had yet been made for the worn-out veteran; and his pension, flowing from the bounty of the crown, was granted as a sort of retaining fee, which at any moment might be resumed. And even the former seems to have been attended with greater difficulties than the founders of the establishment had anticipated. The expenses both in and out of doors had increased so rapidly, that Chelsea Hospital was in debt to the amount of upwards of forty-seven thousand pounds. Of course, there was but one mode of dealing with the case. Parliament being applied to, granted a sum not exceeding sixty thousand pounds for the liquidation of this burthen, and to supply funds for carrying on the business of the current

year ; while the commissioners were instructed, by a letter from the Treasury, to inquire whether any and what reductions could be made in the general expenditure of the establishment.

While the dead-weight, as it has since been termed, continued so inconsiderable as we find it to have been during the reigns of James, of William, and in the beginning of that of Anne, the few dependants upon it for whom an asylum could not be provided within the hospital, were either enrolled into invalid companies at various stations, or pensioned off, with leave to reside among their kindred, after the following scale.

	PER DIEM.
To a private soldier was allowed	. 5d.
To a drummer	. 7d.
To a corporal	. 7d.
To a serjeant	. 9d.
To one of the troop of guards	. 12d.
To a dragoon	. 7d.
To a corporal of dragoons	. 12d.
To a master gunner	. 14d.
To another gunner	. 7d.

The first economical suggestion offered by the commissioners was, that this scale should be revised. They recommended that a serjeant's pension should be reduced from nine pence to

sixpence a day,—that a corporal of light horse should receive eight pence instead of a shilling,—that a corporal of dragoons should be placed on the same footing, and that a master gunner should be deprived of two pence out of his fourteen. All other invalids, no matter what might have been their length of service or the nature of the duty which they had performed, were to receive five pence a day only, and no more; from which it was calculated that a saving would accrue to the hospital funds of eight thousand pounds per annum. Nor did these early reformers stop there: they advised that there should be made at Chelsea three reviews in every year of the discharged soldiers; and that all who failed to present themselves, unless it were proved that their absence arose from sickness or other good cause, should be struck off the pension-list. From this, as well as from periodical examinations of the bodies of the invalids, with a view to deprive of their pensions such as appeared capable of earning a livelihood by labour, it was considered that “the charge of the out-pension might be materially eased.” But the commissioners did not

approve of a suggestion which the treasurer had made, importing that furloughs ought to be universally resumed, and all pensioners, whether efficient or inefficient, enrolled into companies. They reminded him that government had not provided quarters for so large a body of men, and described the scenes of misery which were already exhibited by reason of the houseless and destitute state of the men who came to pass the board as at least sufficiently humiliating.

The measure recommended by the board of commissioners seems to have been immediately carried into effect, and the pensions of the invalids suffered reduction: but the public were not yet satisfied—further retrenchments were required, and the poor discharged soldier was again made the subject of the economist's experiments. Fresh reviews or examinations of the out-pensioners took place, of which the result was, to withdraw the relief hitherto granted in consideration of a twenty years' service; and to declare no persons entitled to partake in the bounty of the crown except such as had lost their limbs, or were otherwise disabled. At the same time, serjeants, corporals,

gunners, and light horse, were all put upon the same footing with privates of infantry; five pence a day was settled as the universal amount of pension, without any regard to distinction of rank or character : while, still further to prevent the possibility of an enlarged expenditure, the granting of pensions for the future was discontinued.—It will be seen from this sketch, that in times gone by the worn-out soldier was not much accounted of; and it will appear, from what is yet to be stated, that something of the same spirit has more or less operated in all ages.

While the public commissioners were thus taxing their ingenuity to devise means for the reduction of the pension-list, individuals, actuated by a nobler principle, here and there gave proof that they esteemed the old warrior, albeit his term of active service was completed, to be not unworthy of his country's gratitude. So early as 1695, the Earl of Ranelagh invested in the hands of trustees the sum of three thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, of which, by a codicil to his will dated in 1707, he desired that the interest might be laid out in the pur-

chase of great-coats, at the rate of one in every three years, for each of the in-pensioners. In like manner, John de la Fontaine, Esq. of Bloomsbury Square, on the 7th of May 1768, bequeathed for the use of the hospital the sum of two thousand pounds, of which the governor and treasurer were appointed trustees. A short time afterwards an additional sum of eight hundred pounds, arising from arrears of interest, was laid out in the purchase of bank annuities. Out of the latter bequest there have ever since been divided among the pensioners sixty pounds ten shillings in money, which they are expected to lay out on the 29th of May in each year, in carousing to the memory of Charles the Second, the founder of the hospital.

The wit of man never has devised, and probably never will devise, a scheme of charity which is not more or less liable to abuse; and the journals of Chelsea Hospital would seem to prove that the case of this noble institution has formed in times past no exception to the general rule. From the first establishment of the hospital, deceits and frauds were more or less practised. Within the building, comptrollers and

other functionaries occasionally failed in their duty : while out of doors,—in other words, among the out-pensioners,—the same malpractices obtained which continue to obtain, though perhaps more rarely, to the present hour. The invalid companies, of which there were twelve, never suffered the smallest diminution in point of numbers ; insomuch that individuals, once put upon the pension list, seemed to become immortal. Such at least is the inference which a perusal of the old books in the college would lead any one to draw. But it must not be forgotten, in considering this point, that England in the beginning of the eighteenth century was torn by party spirit, and that the government which succeeded that of which Lord Oxford had been at the head delighted in affixing every species of stigma on the character of its predecessor. Hence, probably, to the full as much as from the delinquencies of individuals, we find the most sweeping minutes recorded by the commissioners under George the First ;—public officers prosecuted, all sorts of inquiries set on foot, and the parade of vigilance and honest purpose carried to its utmost limits. There was one Mr

Crispe, for example, who holding office as secretary of the hospital during the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, had repeatedly been thanked by the commissioners for his zeal, integrity, and aptitude for business. This man was not only dismissed by the commissioners under George the First, but informers were encouraged to come forward and convict him of malversation ; while a complete revision of the whole system took place, and the pensioners were dealt with much more perhaps in the spirit of strict justice than of kindness. The invalid companies were reduced to an establishment of fifty men each ; fresh obstacles were thrown in the way of mens' claim for pensions ; and an anxiety was exhibited to economise, of which we at this day can both understand the object and calculate the true result.

It would afford no amusement, and very little useful information, were I to give an abstract of the hospital books from the date of the last-mentioned arrangements in 1716 down to the period at which I am writing. All that could be gathered from the narrative would amount to this : that in proportion as the military power

of the country increased, the burthen of the pension-list became every day greater; that each new set of commissioners, when they entered upon office, professed themselves full of anxiety to lighten that burthen; that their vigilance lasted only for a season, till the novelty of office passed away, and that matters invariably reverted to their ancient forms, probably because they were the best. It may be added, moreover, that, though the parliament of 1697 declared disbanded officers entitled to half-pay, no legislative provision was made for officers' widows; and that these receiving their pensions directly from the crown were, like disabled soldiers, paid through the medium of Chelsea Hospital. Of course the growing amount of claimants for the royal bounty gave rise to a prodigious increase in the establishment of clerks in the office; and it will be seen from the following table, that the breaking out of every fresh war has had the effect of diminishing, as the return of peace has invariably increased, the number of pensioners whom the country is bound to support.

One remark more I beg leave to make, as in-

troductory to the following table. Let it be remembered, that just before the general peace of 1814, there were in England, of regular and irregular troops, nearly six hundred thousand men under arms,—of whom three hundred thousand were soldiers of the line, the rest militia-men, yeomanry, and volunteers; and that the whole of these corps sent, at the reduction, each its quota to increase the amount of military pensioners. For of the militia many thousands had by length and merit of service established a claim upon the permanent bounty of their country; while, from the corps of yeomanry and volunteers, not a few proved themselves entitled to a maintenance. Hence the enormous accession to the military pension-list which will be found to have taken place between the years 1814 and 1822: whereas the additional fifteen thousand that swell the amount in 1823, make up but the number of discharged men whom it was judged expedient to transfer at that period from the Irish to the British establishment.

STATEMENT

of the number of Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital,
estimated for each of the Years, from 1741 to 1832.

Year.	Number of Pen- sioners.	Letter Men at ls.	Men at 9d. per day.	Remarks.
1741	3,865	100	39	
1742	3,830	100	37	
1743	3,820	100	31	
1745	5,133	100	32	The Battle of Culloden.
1748	8,054	—	—	Peace—Treaty of Aix-la-Cha- pelle.
1749	8,880	100	31	
1750	9,087	100	31	
1751	8,787	100	31	
1752	8,486	100	31	
1753	8,222	100	31	
1754	8,102	100	31	
1755	8,422	100	31	
1756	7,764	100	31	
1757	6,514	100	31	
1758	6,091	100	31	
1759	6,213	100	31	The Battle of Minden.
1760	6,612	100	31	
1761	7,208	100	31	
1762	8,022	100	31	
1763	9,318	103	31	Peace — Treaty of Fontaine- bleau.
1764	14,566	103	31	
1765	15,229	103	31	
1766	15,593	103	31	
1767	15,423	103	31	
1768	15,756	103	31	
1769	15,315	103	31	
1770	15,928	103	31	
1771	15,873	103	31	
1772	16,066	103	31	
1773	15,870	103	31	
1774	15,837	103	31	
1775	15,770	103	31	Commencement of American War.
1776	13,797	103	31	

Year.	Number of Pen- sioners.	Letter Men at 1s.	Men at 9d. per day.	Remarks.
1777	13,302	203	31	
1778	13,322	203	31	War commenced against France.
1779	13,029	203	31	War commenced against Spain.
1780	10,961	203	31	
1781	11,506	203	31	
1782	11,674	202	31	
1783	12,212	202	31	General Peace—Termination of
1784	18,543	402	31	American War.
1785	20,273	401	31	
1786	20,094	401	31	
1787	20,235	401	31	
1788	20,059	401	31	
1789	20,161	400	31	Commencement of French Re-
1790	20,091	400	31	volution.
1791	19,500	400	31	
1792	20,150			
1793	20,594			In 1793, French Declaration of
1794	17,124			War against England.
1795	16,955			
1796	16,535			
1797	16,406			Including 400 Letter Men and 31 Ser-
1798	16,284			geants.
1799	16,560			
1800	16,695			
1801	17,104			Battles of Alexandria and Copenhagen.
1802	17,104			In 1802, Peace—Treaty of Amiens.
1803	25,307			In 1803, War renewed with France.
1804	22,734			Including 400 Letter Men, 31 Sergeants,
1805	22,290			and Men at higher rates from parti-
1806	21,177			cular circumstances.
1807	20,805			
1808	21,689			
1809	22,325			
1810	23,050			
1811	23,675			
1812	24,469			
1813	25,398			

Year.	Number of Pensioners.	Remarks.
1814	26,568	Abdication of Bonaparte—Peace—Treaty of Paris.
1815	36,757	Battle of Waterloo, and Restoration of Louis XVIII.
1816	39,217	Reduction of the Army.
1817	54,068	Do.
1818	57,792	Do.
1819	61,397	Riots at Manchester, and Pensioners enrolled in
1820	55,911	Veteran Battalions.
1821	57,049	Vet. Batts. disbanded, and Reduction in Army.
1822	66,634	The Kilmainham Pensioners transferred to Chel-
1823	81,189	sea, above 15,000 in number.
1824	81,288	
1825	81,877	
1826	82,734	Three Veteran Battalions disbanded, and the Pen-
1827	85,515	sioners reverted.
1828	85,834	
1829	85,756	
1830	85,724	
1831	84,534	

In the foregoing calculation it is probable that the civilian reader will take little interest; but the military man will both understand why it has been inserted, and be in a condition to account for the facts disclosed in it. He is doubtless aware, that from the first establishment of Chelsea Hospital, down to late times, it has been customary, as often as war broke out, to call in from the pension-list as many veterans as were considered capable of further service, and to employ them, sometimes at home, some-

times abroad, in such duties as their condition might warrant. A century ago, the government was not indeed so mindful of the capabilities of these poor fellows as it might have been. In 1739, for example, when Lord Anson's expedition against the Spanish settlements in America was fitted out, five hundred men were selected out of the pensioners for service on board of the fleet; nor was it originally intended that any other land-forces should accompany him. Mr. Walter, the historian of the voyage, thus speaks of the detachment, and of the feelings with which the commodore was affected when he beheld them:—"As the out-pensioners consist of soldiers who, from their age, or wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of service in marching regiments, Mr. Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepit detachment allotted him; for he was fully persuaded that these invalids were no way proper for this service, and solicited strenuously to have them exchanged. But he was told that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he, thought them the properest men that could be employed on the occasion, and they

were ordered on board on the 5th of August : but, instead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine ; for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth deserted, leaving behind such only as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them seventy."

Besides this, other instances occur of the employment in general service of men very few of whom were fit for more than garrison-duty. I believe that the 41st regiment was originally composed of invalids. But in 1782 we find such persons embodied exclusively into what were termed first invalid companies, and by and by, when they came to be regimented, veteran battalions. At the former period, there appear to have been of independent companies six-and-twenty included in the English establishment ; in that of Ireland, ten. Just before the conclusion of the late war, the number of veteran battalions amounted to thirteen, of which the aggregate strength comprised ten thousand nine hundred and sixty-one rank and file. They were composed entirely of men who, from

wounds or old age, were found incapable of sustaining the fatigues of active service, and whose next step was either to the pension-list, or, if they preferred the arrangement, and their cases seemed to require it, into Chelsea Hospital itself.

Before I quit this part of my subject, I may observe, that previously to 1754 the out-pensioners received the king's bounty once in every year; that their payments were always twelve months in arrear, and that they were subject, in consequence, not only to great inconvenience, but to be made the dupes of designing persons,—a fate which too generally befel them. To remedy these evils, a bill was passed through parliament, authorising the pensioners and discharged soldiers to be paid in advance at half-yearly periods, and declaring that all contracts by which a soldier's pension might be mortgaged should be void. But it was not till the year 1806 that anything approaching to a vested interest in his pension was secured to the invalid. Then, indeed, Mr. Windham's Act set him free from the vexatious scrutiny to which he had heretofore been subject, and took away from government

the power of arbitrarily depriving him of the reward of his services ; for the pensioner once passed, must now be retained on the list till he shall have committed some offence against the laws of his country. All this is as it ought to be ; but, as I am not writing a history of the system of rewards which from age to age have been adopted in the British army, I here close a chapter which, however it may be esteemed by the soldier himself, is not, I am afraid, likely to find much favour in the eyes either of the gay or of the fair.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Rise, Armament, Clothing, and General Arrangements of the Regular Army of England.

PREVIOUSLY to the great civil war, which cost Charles the First his life and England her liberties, there was no such thing as a standing army in this country. A few troops and companies of hired soldiers seem, indeed, to have been in all ages kept on foot ; but these, whether foreigners or home-born, bore precisely the same relation to the sovereign which his armed retainers bore to the baron. They garrisoned the royal castles, guarded the king's person, and did the duties of state at the king's court. For this latter purpose, indeed, the band of gentlemen pensioners and yeomen of the guard were especially enrolled,—the first so early as Richard the Second's reign, the last under Henry the

Seventh. But the total strength of both fell short of a hundred and fifty men, till the accession of Henry the Eighth, who increased them to three hundred.

Besides these ministers of regal pomp, and the established guards for the fortresses, the kings of England took from time to time into their pay companies of free lancers,—in other words, bodies of men who looked to their swords as the only legitimate sources of fortune, and were accustomed to hire them out wherever there might be war, or a good price was offered for them. With these, to whom were added archers and even spearmen of the true English breed, Ireland was held in subjection, and occasionally a rebel baron put down in the sister country. But the free-lancers had no claim to pay or reward beyond the period for which they might be engaged ; and the natives were, as soon as they ceased to be useful, sent adrift. I think, then, we are still justified in asserting, that till the era of the great civil war, England was without a military body, which, being kept together in seasons both of peace and war, served to strengthen the hands of the govern-

ment, to secure the peace of the country, and so deserved to be spoken of as a standing army.

In another chapter I have said as much as is requisite both of the feudal array, and of the militia system that succeeded it. During the prevalence of both, the men-at-arms took the field in linked or plate mail, and rode horses possessed of great strength, which, like themselves, were encased in armour. The lance, the sword, the battle-axe, the mace, the dagger, and sometimes the mallet over and above, were the offensive weapons used ; while here and there troops of mounted archers would go forth to battle, taking, however, care ere the battle began to link their hackneys together and send them to the rear. Among the infantry, again, there were spearmen, billmen, halberdiers, archers, cross-bowmen, — all of them more or less protected by defensive arms. An iron pot or head-piece was in many instances the sole protection which the foot-soldier had ; and his dress, whatever garments he might have been accustomed to wear when at home. Nay, many a campaign was begun and carried through, both in England and elsewhere, with troops,

the half of whom carried no other weapons than clubs and fire-hardened stakes. With respect again to the artillery, or implements for the attack and defence of fortified places, these are well known. Battering-rams shook down the walls; catapultas and balistas threw enormous stones with great force, and at a very considerable range; the onager and scorpion shot darts and quarrels; and from huge cross-bows, worked by machinery, arrows were sent forth. By the aid of sows and cats, men struck at the enemy's works with pick-axes, and under cover; while belfries and wooden towers helped to put the assailants on a level with the besieged, and opened a way into the city. Such, in few words, were the implements, living and dead, with which the kings of England carried on war during the middle ages; to which, by and by, came to be added cannon of a very cumbrous make and proportionate inefficiency.

The invention of the musket, though it was slow of producing any marked effect, could not fail to bring about changes, which became every year more and more important, in the equipment both of infantry and cavalry. At

first, as is well known, both muskets and petronels, or long horse-pistols, were discharged by means of matches, which the soldier carried in a tin case behind his back, and used by applying them manually to the touch-holes. While this practice continued, and the weapon itself was long and cumbersome, a rest formed an essential part of the foot-soldier's appointments; that is to say, a stake having a sharp pike at one end, and a couple of horns or branches, usually made of iron, at the other. This he carried on the march over his shoulder, and when in the presence of the enemy, planted it upright in the ground. But the matchlock in such a shape was a very unwieldy weapon, and scarcely sufficed to put out of fashion the long-bow, against which, as well as against the close fighting of the day, defensive arms long continued to be used. Accordingly the head was protected still by the iron cap; the chest and flanks, by buff jackets, or padded and quilted cassocks. And in the cavalry, breast-plates and back-pieces, tasses, vambraces, and all the other appliances of knightly costume, continued to be worn. During the warlike reign of Eliza-

beth, which could boast of its De Veres, and Sydneys, and other officers of skill and courage, the bow still kept its ground ; and ponderous armour covered both horse and foot when they went forth to battle, though the latter had certainly begun to be laid aside, as being far more cumbersome than useful.

James the First came to the throne at a period when considerable improvements had been effected in the portable fire-arms used by his troops. The matchlock, instead of being discharged by a manual application of the match, was cocked by means of a wheel-lock, of which the machinery was wound up with the assistance of a sort of key called a spanner. It thus became, whether a musket or a pistol, less inconvenient than formerly, as being fabricated of a lighter build ; and it gained ground every day more and more, though it did not wholly supersede the long-bow. Moreover, in James's day, the buff-coat or jerkin, which was originally worn under the cuirass, became in many instances a substitute for the cuirass itself, and was found, when made of good materials, to resist a sword-stroke tolerably well. At the

same time, while the foot-soldiers laid aside their hauberks, bills, morris-pikes, and staves of every description, and confined themselves to the musket, caliver, common pike, and sword, the cavalry adopted, in addition to their swords and pistols, the carabine, or short musket.

In Charles the First's reign still greater advances were made towards bringing the musket to perfection, by the invention of the flint-lock. The pains which that monarch took, moreover, to introduce something like uniformity into the fashion of the men's arms were very great. He issued, in the year 1631, a commission to certain "trusty and well-beloved workmen, armourers, and freemen of the company of armourers of our cittye of London, to hold a survey of the weapons and other appointments belonging to the trained bands, and directing that the same should be from tyme to tyme repaired, amended, dressed, and stamped;" and though this had reference only to the depôts of arms which were supposed to be laid up in each county and city for the use of the militia; and which, if we may judge from the tenor of this deed, had been grievously neglected by his

predecessor ; still the degree of information which it conveys to us touching the weapons then coming into use is very accurate. For example, I find it stated, “ Whereas the said armourers, gun-makers, pike-makers, and bandoleer-makers, are willing to accept of and undertake this service and according to the said certificate have given caution in our office of ordnance to be ready, when we shall have occasion to set them on worke, at seven days’ warning ; and that the said armourers will deliver into our stores, for ready money, fifteen hundred armours every month ; and the gun-makers as many muskets, and bastard-muskets (calivers), and small-shot, upon the same warning ; and also the pike-makers and bandoleer-makers a proportionable number, upon like warning, for our service.” From this we learn, first, that defensive armour was still retained ; next, that the only offensive weapons used were muskets and pikes ; and lastly, that the soldiers wore bandoleers. What these latter were, there are few of my readers in whom I should be justified in supposing ignorance. The bandoleer was a leathern belt, which passed over the left

shoulder, like the Highland officer's sash of our own day, and from which in little pouches, each by itself, depended the soldier's stock of cartridges. But his priming-powder, which was of a finer grain, he carried in a tin case or horn apart ; and not unfrequently carried, over and above, a bag of loose bullets by his side.

Cromwell's successful warriors, equipped at the outset from the unfortunate monarch's stores, continued to wear the weapons with which they put down the monarchy, or others resembling them in form and texture. Neither was any great change effected in these respects under the second Charles. His statutes 13 and 14 describe very accurately the weapons wielded by his army, and run thus:—"The arms offensive and defensive, with the furniture for horse, are to be as followeth : The defensive arms, a back, breast, and hat, and the breast and hat to be pistol-proof ;—the offensive arms, a sword and a case of pistols, the barrels whereof are not to be under fourteen inches in length. The furniture for the horse, to be a great saddle or padd, with barrs and straps to affix the holsters into ; a bit and bridle, with

a pectoral and crupper. For the foot, a musqueteer is to have a musquet, the barrel whereof is not to be under three feet in length, and the gauge of the bore to be for twelve bullets to the pound: a collar of bandoleers, with a sword. A pikeman is to be armed with a pike made of ash, not under sixteen feet in length, the head and foot included, with a back, breast, head-piece, and sword: provided that all muster-masters shall for the present admit and allow of any pikes already made that are not under fifteen feet in length; but no pikes which shall be hereafter made are to be allowed of that are under sixteen feet in length."

Thus far we have come without once meeting with the bayonet,—a weapon continually spoken of in despatches and descriptions of battles, but of which it rarely happens that, in modern times at least, the slightest use is made. To James the Second belongs the merit, such as it is, of having made the first attempt to introduce the bayonet into the British army. In France it began to be used in the year 1671, being then a sort of dagger, with a handle a foot in length, and a blade of the same dimensions, which the

soldier carried instead of a sword, and which he fastened to his musket by thrusting the hilt into the muzzle. In the English service, the bayonet or dagger was confined to the grenadiers. So late indeed as 1690 this was the case; though two years subsequently I find it alluded to in a book of military instructions, as conferred upon the militia in general. And it is worthy of remark, that not to infantry alone was the use of the bayonet restricted: dragoons and horse grenadiers both received it, and both stuck it into the muzzles of their carabines. At what date the socket handle came into play I have not been able to ascertain; though Grose in his *Military Antiquities* relates an anecdote, which demonstrates that this improvement must have been a thing of comparatively recent occurrence. "Lieutenant Christopher Maxwell of the 30th regiment of foot," he says, "who had it from his grandfather, formerly lieutenant-colonel of the 25th regiment of foot," told the following tale. "In one of the campaigns of William the Third in Flanders, in an engagement the name of which my informant had forgot, there were three French re-

giments whose bayonets were made to fix upon the present fashion—a contrivance then unknown in the British army. One of them advanced against the 25th regiment with fixed bayonets. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, who commanded it, ordered his men to screw their bayonets into their muskets to receive them ; but to his great surprise, when they came within a proper distance, the French threw in a heavy fire, which for a moment staggered his people, who by no means expected such a greeting, not conceiving how it was possible to fire with fixed bayonets. They nevertheless recovered themselves, charged and drove the enemy out of the line.”

The introduction of the bayonet naturally led to the dismissal of the pike, which, with the universal exchange of the matchlock for the snaphance or flint-lock musket, took place about the third or fourth year of the reign of William the Third. Nevertheless the sword continued long to encumber the foot-soldier, even as the bayonet, down to a period within my own recollection, appertained to the dragoon. In other respects I am not aware of anything in the accoutrement of the soldier which seems

to demand especial notice, unless it be the substitution of the pouch or cartouch-box for the bandoleer. At first the pouch was fastened round the soldier's waist by a strap, and rested not upon his back as it does now, but in front. From this by a loop hung the bayonet, while the sword had a shoulder-belt for itself. But modern improvements gradually changed the position of the pouch, and gave to the soldier what he now has—his cross-belts. I need not follow him through this stage of his career, nor yet describe how armour after it rested a hundred years in disuse came again into fashion: rather let me pass on to such observations as may be requisite in making my reader acquainted with the costume and general management that prevailed in the English regiments from the date of their recognition by act of parliament as legitimate instruments in the hands of the supreme government.

In very ancient times there was no uniform, properly so called, in any army. National shawls or scarfs distinguished the troops of one country from another, which in cases of civil war gave place to more minute badges; but not till the reign of Henry the Eighth can I find that the

soldiers of England, at least, wore dresses of a common colour. Henry's uniform, moreover, seems to have been white; that of Elizabeth, dark green or russet: Charles the First was too much in want of men to reject recruits, however motley their attire; whereas Oliver Cromwell equipped his troops in scarlet. I do not know whether the circumstance of his having done so may have had any effect upon the minds of the military authorities in Charles the Second's day; but it is certain that in point of colour the dress of the British army has not since varied. Particular corps may have had particular colours. Our light cavalry, for instance, used to wear blue, our riflemen equip themselves in green, our artillery uniform is blue; but the national colour has been since the date of the Protectorate what it now is—scarlet. For the shape of the men's raiment, as it has from age to age varied, my reader must turn to some book of costumes,—which this does not profess to be.

The head-dresses of the British soldiers have undergone as many changes, both as to materials and form, as any portion of their clothing. Iron caps gave way to broad-brimmed steeple-

crowned beavers, which were succeeded by three-cornered felt hats, looped up on both sides and surmounted by cockades. These long held their ground, having been introduced in the reign of William the Third, and continuing to be worn so late as the reign of George the Third. It is true that the guards and grenadier companies of regiments of the line seem to have worn caps of a different description,—high-crowned pieces of cloth, such as Hogarth has represented in his admirable picture of the March of the Guards from Finchley Common. But the general covering for the soldier's head was the three-cornered hat, which still lingers (and may the hand of innovation never remove it!) at Chelsea Hospital. Then came the Prussian cap—a tall round piece of felt, considerably narrower above than below, with a narrow peak in front, and a short feather adorning it, or tuft. This was worn by the private soldier of infantry, whose officer adopted the cocked-hat—the same in its shape and absolute inutility with that to which the dragoon or cavalry soldier was condemned. By and by, however, the Prussian cap went out of fashion, and an Aus-

trian head-dress succeeded,—a thing with a false front, a feather stuck on one side, and a little rolled up band of oil-skin behind, which would, it was said, protect the wearer from catching cold when, being let down, it was tied over the collar of his coat. Of all the hideous and unprofitable coverings that have ever been applied to the human head, this was the most absurd: indeed it seemed as if the fabricator had laboured, and not unsuccessfully, to produce a machine which should at once contribute to the discomfort of the wearer's person, and utterly destroy his appearance. Yet it kept its ground several years, till the chakot pushed it aside, which, with the bear-skin cap, the heavy head-dress of the grenadier, is still in use. Meanwhile helmets of various shapes have succeeded one another in the heavy cavalry, by far the most elegant as well as the most useful of which has invariably been that which came nearest to the classical model; while chakots, lancers' caps, hussar muffs, and I know not how many absurdities besides, have each had their reign among the light horse.

The practice of dividing military bodies into

separate corps and bands may be said to be coeval with the rise of armies themselves. Among the Romans, as every schoolboy knows, this most essential part of discipline was carried to the extreme of perfection ; their legions, cohorts, and centenaries corresponding in almost every particular to our divisions, battalions, and companies. During the dark ages, likewise, the matter, though less carefully attended to than at present, could not be wholly neglected, inasmuch as the rudest system of warfare, requires that the people engaged in it should at least be pliable. We accordingly find that when an army was to be raised, either for foreign service or to put down a domestic insurrection, the feudal tenants and *posse comitatus*, being assembled in their proper districts, were there inspected by certain provincial functionaries called *arraitores* or *arrrayers*. Two or more *arraitores* were usually allotted to each county ; and it was their business not only to inspect the recruits, their fitness for military service, their equipment and arms, but to arrange both mounted and dismounted men into convenient bodies, of which the con-

stitution very much resembled our troops, squadrons, companies, and battalions. Among the cavalry, these organised bands were called constabularies and squadrons,—the constabulary consisting of twenty-five or thirty men, the squadron of seventy-five at the least;—and as the first was commanded by a constable, whose rank corresponded with that of an esquire, so was the last under the guidance of a banneret. A knight, as holding a station intermediate between these officers, not unfrequently commanded two constabularies. Among the infantry I cannot discover exactly what denominations were in use; but from the reign of Edward the First, down to that of Henry the Seventh, we have abundant evidence of the fact, that by thousands, hundreds, and twenties, the foot-soldiers were always drilled and mustered.

I have already said, that till the era of the great civil war there was no standing army in England. The squadrons and regiments, therefore, (for such in point of fact they were,) which the *arraitores* embodied, were regularly disbanded as soon as the purpose for which the war was made had been effected; and lost, of

course, with their consistency, the titles, whatever they might have been, which distinguished them while acting together. Cromwell's troops, on the contrary, won for themselves a place among the institutions of their country, and in peace as well as in war continued to take rank as regiments both of horse and foot. They do not, however, appear to have been numbered, as is the case now, but took each the name of the officer in command; thus changing their designations, with every change of leaders.

Charles the Second appeared at one time well disposed to retain in his service the whole of the army as he found it, on his arrival in England. So at least says Mr. Trenchard, a violent though an able writer of the last century: but being advised not to trust too much to the fidelity of those by whom his father's throne had been cast down, he discarded the regiments one after another, and out of the materials thus at his disposal reconstructed others. In 1680, his establishment consisted of twelve troops of horse and dragoons; namely, three of guards, eight which served together as the Royal Regiment of Horse, and one of dragoons;

—of which the total strength came up to eleven hundred and eighty-nine men. Of foot he had four entire regiments ; namely, the first Foot Guards, the Coldstream Guards, the Duke of York's, and the Holland regiment, which being reinforced by twenty-six independent companies, the Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard, gave him in all for domestic service five thousand seven hundred and sixty-one soldiers. At the same time his Irish establishment was considerable ; that is to say, it consisted of twenty-four troops of horse, of which the total strength fell not short of thirteen hundred and seventy-two ;—while his Irish infantry, including a regiment of guards, seventy-four independent companies, and a body of yeomen, made up a force of six thousand four hundred and twenty-eight men. Then, again, there came to be added, a year or two subsequently, the garrison of Tangier, which was intended not to exceed three thousand men, and rarely fell short of two thousand. This would give him in all about three thousand cavalry and thirteen thousand infantry,—a force amply sufficient in those days for the wants of the country ;

but so little esteemed by the legislature, that they ceased not from time to time to protest against its continued existence. Moreover, Charles the Second retained in Scotland a body of two thousand eight hundred men, whom he employed chiefly to garrison his castles at Dunbar, Edinburgh, Stirling, and other places of strength. These, too, were denounced by the jealousy of the commons after they had ceased to play into the sovereign's hands, and frequent applications were made, though without effect, to obtain their dismissal. But if Charles's armed followers excited the umbrage of the public of England, much more deep-seated was the alarm when James the Second increased the amount to nearly double. That ill-advised monarch likewise completed the sum of his follies, by dispensing with the laws which refused commissions to Papists, and reaped his reward when the soldiers themselves turned their backs upon a prince who would have employed them to enslave their fellow-citizens.

William the Third added much to the amount of the standing army of England. He retained in his pay, at one period, about sixty thousand

men, of whom nearly eight thousand were foreigners. During his reign the regiments of horse and dragoons appear to have mustered each from six to nine troops,—the weakest not falling short of the latter scale, the strongest in no instance exceeding the former. Each troop, again, without including officers or non-commissioned officers, averaged from fifty to sixty-seven men. Thus I find that General Lumley's regiment in 1690, could bring upon parade, with its nine troops,—forty-two officers, fifty-four non-commissioned officers, and six hundred and three privates, making the total strength of the corps six hundred and ninety-nine; whereas Colonel Wood's showed a force of six troops, with twenty-eight officers, thirty-six non-commissioned officers, and three hundred and fifty-four men,—in all four hundred and eighteen. Among the regiments of foot, there were similar inequalities. Lord Romney's, for example, had twenty-eight companies, which made up four battalions, and including officers and non-commissioned officers, brought into the field two thousand five hundred and sixty-three combatants: General Churchill's had but thir-

teen companies in one battalion, and paraded in all nine hundred and twenty-eight officers and men. Thirteen companies, containing nine hundred and twenty-eight persons, seems indeed to have been the strength of an ordinary regiment,—at least out of more than forty I find but four which exceeded that number.

From this date, England has never been without her standing army; though care is taken to guard against its misapplication, by rendering the grants that are made for the payment and maintenance of the troops dependant on an annual vote of the House of Commons. The army, likewise, has in its organisation continued essentially the same that it was when William ascended the throne; it consists now, as it did then, of different regiments of horse and foot,—with artillery, whether mounted or dismounted, forming a distinct corps. No doubt the systems of drill and internal management have in these several bodies undergone partial changes;—no doubt the regiments themselves have varied both in numbers and strength at different epochs. The practice, too, of calling them by the names of their com-

mandants has ceased, and they now take their places in the line according to their supposed seniority. But these are matters of mere detail, which affect the subject now before me too little to justify my entering into them. It is enough to state in few words, that at home the British soldier has for the most part been dealt with regimentally; abroad, and in the presence of an enemy, by divisions, brigades, battalions, and squadrons.

It is surprising to see how little the pay of the different ranks in the English army has increased since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under that princess, I find, on the authority of the Harleian Manuscripts, that the members of each regiment of horse and foot were remunerated for their services on the following scale :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Colonels, each, <i>per diem</i>	10	0
Captains of horse	4	0
Lieutenants of horse	2	6
Cornets of horse	2	0
Troopers of horse	1	3
Captains of foot	4	0
Lieutenants of foot	2	0
Ensigns of foot	1	6
Sergeants of foot	1	0
Drummers	1	0
Surgeons	1	0

Under Charles the First, colonels of foot seem to have received one pound per day; lieutenant-colonels, ten shillings; captains, eight shillings; lieutenants, four shillings; ensigns, two shillings and sixpence; sergeants, one shilling and two-pence; corporals, ten-pence; drummers, one shilling; and privates, eight-pence a piece. In the parliamentary army, the pay was better:—a colonel of horse had with them in all one pound ten shillings per day; a major, one pound one shilling; a captain, fourteen shillings; a lieutenant, nine shillings; a cornet, eight shillings; corporals and trumpeters, each two shillings and sixpence. In the foot, a colonel had one pound; a lieutenant-colonel, fifteen shillings; a major, thirteen shillings; a captain, eight shillings; a lieutenant four shillings; an ensign, three shillings; a sergeant, one shilling and sixpence; a corporal, one shilling; and a private, nine-pence. By the statute 10 of William the Third, this scale underwent a revision, which, making comparatively few alterations in the pay of the officers, reduced that of the private to eight-pence per day, at which rate it continued up to the year 1797. But it is worthy of remark, that though in name very nearly

equivalent to his pay at the present hour, (and when the costs of the necessities of life are considered, much better,) the soldier of old was treated with far less regard to justice. His arrears were sometimes of four years' standing; and the settlement, when made at last, invariably robbed him of three-fourths of his pittance. We wonder, when we read of all this, how he should have acquitted himself as he did.

It would be endless were I, in a sort of intercalary chapter like this, to attempt any sketch, however meagre, of the tactics to which from age to age the British soldiers have been trained. In Charles the First's time, the Spanish method was in fashion; after the Revolution, this gave place to the Dutch, of which Prince Maurice may be regarded as the inventor. Both schools taught the musketeers to form with files widely extended, and planted the pikemen in the centre, and the shot, as they were termed, to protect the flanks. The battalion, likewise, drew up ten deep: that is to say, each company, which consisted of one hundred men, was so arranged as to show an equal front on whichever side it might be

viewed. The cavalry, on the other hand, formed only at six deep, and had two separate orders,—the close and the open: close order, when the men rode knee to knee; open, when an interval of six feet kept both the ranks and files apart. There was no end to the absurd and useless figures into which, for parade purposes, both infantry and cavalry were taught to throw themselves: yet in battle they seem to have looked only to the one thing needful—keeping a steady front to the enemy wherever he might appear, and beating him.

To the Dutch system succeeded the Prussian, out of which Dundas's eighteen manœuvres were concocted; a mode of drill which in principle still survives, though in practice it has been a good deal altered. Its design is to render the men cool and collected, and attentive to the word of command, no matter how confused or perplexing may be the situation into which they are thrown: and truly no one has ever seen how British soldiers deport themselves in the field without acknowledging that it fully answers its purpose.

One word more in reference to the general

condition of the British army, and I pass on to other subjects. Between the English soldier and the soldiers of other European powers, there is, and since the Revolution there has been this marked difference,—that whereas the latter have no dangers to face except those which a state of active warfare always brings along with it, the former never can be said to be out of harness. In France, in Germany, in Russia, the soldier who is not employed against a foreign enemy, breathes at least the atmosphere of his native land. The British soldier, on the contrary, is liable to be sent to every quarter of the known world, and must make up his mind, so soon as he has passed muster, to the chance of spending the best of his days under the suns of Asia or Africa, or amid the snows of Canada. The British soldier, likewise, unlike the soldier of every other European nation, must subject himself to the strictest moral control, being regarded by his countrymen in general with a degree of jealousy for which it is very difficult to account. Before the Revolution, the soldiers lived in England, as elsewhere, pretty much at free quarters.

They were billeted indiscriminately on private families, and in houses of public entertainment; and it is not impossible but that the privileges thus afforded them might have been abused. At present the very publicans complain when soldiers happen to be sent to them for accommodation, while the individual whose duty it is to carry a deadly weapon is scarcely permitted to use it in his own defence. Now I do not complain of all this,—the soldiers themselves do not complain of it. As a free people, we are justified in checking at the outset all approaches towards the exercise of military licence. But it is not surely too much to expect, that the country which requires such services from its soldiers,—such frequent exposure to unhealthy climates,—such perpetual self-control and endurance and moral courage,—should deal with them, especially in old age, with far more of liberality than is apt in their cases to be exercised. Within the walls of Chelsea Hospital the veteran has indeed nothing to complain of,—but why? Because the establishment is his own,—built by his own or his predecessors'

money,—supported out of funds which the nation never gave, and not, therefore, but for an error in policy which never ought to have been committed, depending in any degree upon the liberality of parliament. For, in addition to the poundage, or deduction from the soldiers' pay, already referred to as having been required at the beginning, I find that in the year 1755 the great Lord Chatham carried a bill through parliament, which, enabling the pensioners to receive their pensions by half-yearly payments in advance, kept back from the total amount the sum of five per cent. and caused it to be applied in diminution of the general charge of the out-pensioners. And had the sum thus deducted from the veteran's pittance been allowed to accumulate, the interest accruing from it would have long ago sufficed to cover all the expenses of Chelsea Hospital. Besides, there has been in the keeping of the Commissioners, ever since 1809, a prodigious amount of unclaimed prize-money, the interest of which, if added to the poundage, and devoted exclusively to defray the internal expenses of the edifice, would render all applications to

the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the part of its inmates unnecessary. The in-pensioner, therefore, though he have no complaints to make, owes nothing to the generosity of the House of Commons. How is it with the out-pensioner?

But I feel that I am treading upon very delicate ground, and as it is not very easy to walk over it, and retain one's respect for "those that are in authority," I gladly turn off into another path.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning matters historical with which certain inmates of Chelsea Hospital were concerned.

I HAVE had occasion to state, on the authority of universal tradition, that the idea of providing an asylum in England for worn-out soldiers originated with Nell Gwynne, and that the chief motive both with her and her royal paramour in carrying the project into effect was a desire that the maimed and impoverished adherents of Charles the First might be provided with a place of refuge in which to spend their latter days. So much time had, however, been permitted to elapse ere the foundation-stone of the hospital was laid, and the building, when begun, went on so slowly, that very few of the particular class of persons for whose benefit it was especially designed survived to

take advantage of it. The great Civil War, be it remembered, came to a final close in 1651; Chelsea Hospital, founded in 1682, was but partially habitable in 1688;—leaving a space of not less than seven-and-thirty years between the cessation of hostilities and the fulfilment of Nelly's humane intentions. And if seven-and-thirty years be even now a very extended period in a soldier's life, much more powerful must have been the influence of the same space at a season when the social habits of all ranks were far less conducive than they are now to longevity.

Accordingly, the traditions of the place are, I regret to say, exceedingly barren in reference to one of the most romantic periods of English history. One or two names there doubtless are, in the original list of inmates, which connect us with those troublous times, when the principles of order and of confusion, perhaps of tyranny and freedom, struggled for the mastery. But even of these so little can be said in the way of memoir or personal narrative, that I have had strong misgivings as to the propriety of taking notice

of them at all. On the other hand, it is impossible not to feel, that the purposes of this "sketch-book" would be very inadequately accomplished were it to contain no specimen of the sort of service which gave to the aged cavaliers their peculiar claim upon their sovereign's bounty. I am, therefore, tempted to transcribe one or two episodes from the great narrative of the Civil War, confining myself as much as possible to the detail of operations in which those bore a part who found in the decline of life a home in the wards of Chelsea Hospital, and laid their bones to rest in its grave-yard.

The noble historian of the Rebellion begins his eleventh book with a statement which my readers will be good enough to receive as a sort of text to what is going to be related: "If a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government

they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down." Lord Clarendon is in these words describing the state of the public mind as it showed itself in the spring and summer of 1647. As the traditions which it has become my business to embody refer entirely to the occurrences of that eventful year, it may not be amiss if I sketch with a rapid hand some of the causes which produced effects so little at one time to be counted on.

The reader of history is of course aware that the first effect of the king's flight from Oxford, and of the surrender of the strongholds which his partisans occupied in different parts of the kingdom, was to overwhelm the cavaliers with a sense of the total ruin, not only of the cause, but of themselves. They took it for granted that from the captive monarch concessions would be wrung utterly subversive of every principle for which they had heretofore contended. They saw, indeed, before them no prospect more bright than a total change

in the constitution of their church; a complete destruction to what yet remained of authority in the crown; the power of the sword given up without reserve to the House of Commons; and parliaments indissoluble except by a vote of their own body. To this would of course be added a series of proscriptions and confiscations, of which they themselves would be the victims, and out of which their enemies would grow rich. Gloomy they therefore were, in no ordinary degree; yet it seems never to have entered into their contemplation, nor into that of the Presbyterians, who were still the dominant faction in the parliament, that any attempt would be made to get rid of the kingly office. On the contrary, their chief ground of alarm arose from this,—that the king would be made a party to the measures directed against his best friends; and as they had heretofore contended for the great principle of obedience, so they felt that resistance even to persecution, when carried forward in the king's name, would in their situation be hopeless.

Time passed, and brought in its passage a

change in the aspect of public affairs, which seemed not only to inspire the royalists with better hopes, but to stir up in the bosoms of many who had never professed such opinions before a sentiment not far removed from loyalty. The treatment awarded by Cromwell to his royal captive was for a while so generous as to alarm the parliament, to cheer the king's friends, and to divide the army itself into two factions. Men knew not what to think or what to anticipate when they beheld his own chaplains again in attendance on the monarch, and his audience-room thronged with such visitors as Berkeley, Ashburnham, Lord Capel, and the Marquis of Ormond: and when it came to be known that he was again in free and unrestricted intercourse with the members of his own family, there were not wanting multitudes so sanguine as to dream of a happy and speedy issue to the nation out of all its troubles. Little were these warm-hearted persons aware of the sort of spell under which the king had fallen. Cromwell, whose purposes seem by this time to have been matured, played off Charles

against the parliament till the latter lay at his feet, and then, by the most simple of all processes, drove the unfortunate monarch to take a step, out of which he knew that his own ends would be effectually accomplished.

The army had already concentrated on Hounslow Heath, where the Speakers of the two Houses repaired to it; and Cromwell, under the pretext of delivering the parliament from a pressure from without, had marched to Westminster, and restored them to their places. He was in possession, moreover, of Southwark, and occupied every approach to the city, thus holding at his mercy as well the governors as the governed — when his own bearing and that of his officers underwent a remarkable change towards the king, and rumours came in that a mighty treason was intended. Charles long distrusted these reports; nor is it certain that he would have given credit to them at last, had not the tale been told by one whom he knew not how to doubt. For Major Huntingdon was not only a man of unimpeachable veracity, but being in Cromwell's confidence, and holding a com-

mission in Cromwell's regiment, it was impossible to suppose that in such a matter he was likely to be deceived. When, therefore, it was stated by him that "Cromwell was a villain and would destroy the king if not prevented;" and above all, when he was seen to resign his commission and to abandon the service because he would not be a party to so base an act; there was not an attendant about the ill-fated monarch who could conceal his apprehensions. Then followed deliberations and discussions, such as under like circumstances are wont to arise, together with appeals to the heads of that armed force which seemed to be in a state of open mutiny; and, last of all, the ill-judged and worse-conducted flight, which brought the fugitive first to Tichfield House in Hampshire, and ultimately to Carisbrooke Castle.

This is neither the place nor the occasion in which to inquire how far Ashburnham was or was not faithless in his dealings with his master. That he incurred little suspicion at the moment, and lived after the Restoration in wealth and respectability, cannot determine

the point one way or another ; for the indirect evidence which these facts supply is at least balanced by the inexplicable stupidity—to call it by no harsher term—which induced him to be Hammond's conductor to the place of the king's concealment. But, however this may be, the consequences to the monarch were fatal,—to the country, both then and afterwards, distressing in the extreme. Hammond, as is well known, would give no pledge, except of affording gentle treatment to his guest so long as he received from his immediate masters no orders to the contrary ; and Charles found himself to all intents and purposes a state prisoner in one of his own fortresses.

As it had fared with the king at Holmby and Hampton Court while under the protection of Cromwell, so was it with him in Carisbrooke Castle. He was treated for a brief season with all the outward marks of respect : but these soon began to be lessened. Now one, now another of his confidential attendants was dismissed, till in the end he could hold no communication with any one beyond the walls of the building, except by stealth. There was

great indignation in the Isle of Wight, which had always been distinguished for its loyalty, and many secret meetings among its principal inhabitants took place ; yet no rising was attempted till after the parliamentary commissioners had come and gone. Then, indeed, neither a contemplation of his own personal danger, nor the remonstrances and advices of the king's discarded servants, sufficed any longer to keep Captain Rushby quiet. He raised the king's standard in Newport ; he drew together a little band of royalists, and published one or two proclamations : but he had no strength to effect more. On the contrary, his adherents falling off from him so soon as the desperate nature of their condition became apparent, he was arrested ; and having done his duty as a good and loyal subject, he died a traitor's death.

Meanwhile, the commissioners, having returned to London, laid before parliament the king's answer to their demands. It was received with the most contumelious derision. Every mouth was open to condemn both the document itself, and its author : the first, as

an insult to the majesty of parliament; the last, as a man destitute of truth and decency. To Cromwell, however, whose influence was now supreme, belongs the honour of having first suggested "that they should no longer trouble themselves with sending messages to such a one, or further propositions; but that they should unite upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having further recourse to the king." A bold sentiment this, which, nevertheless, received the plaudits of an assembly, which the combined influence of cupidity on the one hand, and personal fear on the other, had now thoroughly corrupted; and a resolution founded upon it was, after a brilliant speech from Maynard, carried through. From that hour it was impossible any longer to disguise from the people of England the real object at which the dominant faction was driving. There was no further room for the Presbyterian to delude himself with visions of his own beloved church erected on the ruins of Episcopacy, nor for the patriot to hope that even yet the monarchy would

be restored after it should have been shackled by as many restraints as might render it innocuous to personal freedom. All these day-dreams were melted into air; and when the nobles and gentry of the land found themselves everywhere pushed aside in order that places of honour and profit might be filled by creatures taken from the very dregs of the populace, then many a heart which once beat high with the proud idea of a national regeneration became chilled and changed. For it is a gross mistake to suppose that, at any period during those troublous times, the revolutionists could count on a majority of the nation. Even at the outset, when the claims set up by the house of commons appeared the most moderate, they who made them were in a minority; and now that nothing short of a total overthrow of the monarchy was demanded, that minority became a thousand-fold less considerable. Yet were the persons composing it men of tried courage, talent, and enterprise. They had, moreover, arms in their hands; they were in possession of all the fortified places, all the arsenals, all the resources in money

and munitions throughout the kingdom. The fleet was at their disposal; and, above all, London was subject to their authority. It is not surprising, under such circumstances, to find that they calculated on a successful issue to their schemes, and that they pursued them with a boldness which a mere comparison of numbers could not have created. But the master-stroke in their system of policy was this:—Under the pretext of reorganizing the army, they weeded out from its ranks all concerning whose subserviency to their own views there appeared to be the slightest ground of suspicion; thus shaking themselves free of lukewarm friends, at such seasons scarcely less dangerous than avowed enemies. How the device operated it is not my business to show, though my story is in some degree connected with it.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING GRAVE MATTERS OF MILITARY
HISTORY.

A TRADITION OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE.

A TRADITION OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE.

CHAPTER I.

Showing how Pontefract stood in times long ago.

IN an old book of records which a short time ago was, in a state of absolute decomposition, committed to the flames, there stood an entry to the following effect: "February 17, 1687.—Admitted to the in-pension, James Beaumont, a brave man who fought stoutly in the last siege of Pontefract Castle." Now, if I were a writer of romance, and this a work of fiction, it is obvious that a better peg on which to hang a tale of love and war could not be desired. What a superstructure of marvellous incidents would a second Scott build upon this foundation! There was a Beaumont, a Reverend Mr. Beaumont, the Rector of West Kirby, in the neighbourhood of Pontefract, at whose house the cavaliers of the West Riding used to hold their meetings, and who, after

enduring a great deal both in person and property, laid down his life for a cause in which he was an enthusiast. How easy would it be to make a son of this royalist the hero of my tale ! Unfortunately, however, my present business is with facts, which compel me to acknowledge, that not by any stretch of ingenuity or compass of belief can I connect my gallant pensioner with his namesake. In truth, all my efforts to discover who James Beaumont was have failed. Why, then, is he noticed at all ? Because this much we do know concerning him, that he took part in a series of operations, than which the whole course of the mighty struggle produced none more remarkable. And as I am in a position, after a good deal of research and inquiry, to give of these operations a correct account, I do not know how the object of my work could be more effectively served than by describing them in detail.

There is no ruin in the North of England—I question if there be any within the compass of the four seas—which advances stronger claims upon the notice of the intelligent traveller than Pomfret Castle. Occupying the summit of a steep rock, and commanding a glorious view of

the valley of the Aire, its dilapidated towers, and crumbling bulwarks seem monuments of times gone by ; when might, not right, was everywhere the ruling principle, and the head to contrive was of small value unless supported by the armed hand to execute. How many deeds of violence and blood have been perpetrated within its walls, since Alaric the Saxon reared its stately keep, and Lacy the Norman won it ! Here Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the idol of the people, died a traitor's death ; here Richard the Second closed his melancholy career, behind a veil of horrid mystery, which will not now, probably, be withdrawn for ever ; and here Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, too honest for the times in which they lived, became, under Richard the Third, among the first victims of a tyrant's jealousy. Not, however, with such reminiscences alone are those broken parapets connected : if Pomfret Castle was the scene of many crimes, it has likewise witnessed the display of much constancy and courage ; its prodigious strength, according to men's views of such matters in times of old, rendering it in all seasons of civil war a sort of key to the command of the West Riding. How it was lost

and how won during the eventful summer and autumn of 1647-8, it has become my present business to describe.

My reader will be so good as to bear in mind, that very early in the progress of the great civil war, the Castle of Pontefract was seized by a body of the king's friends, and filled with a garrison of gentlemen and their retainers. Great importance being attached to it on both sides, the republican party no sooner obtained some advantages in the North, than they laid siege to it, and pushed their approaches with all the skill and hardihood of which they were masters. But if the attack was fierce, the defence was both obstinate and brilliant. The first siege was short, for Langdale soon relieved it. In the second, the cavaliers held their ground often amid the utmost distress, always by dint of hard fighting, for six tedious months,—indeed so long as the governor, Colonel Lowther, could flatter them with the remotest chance of relief—his gallant followers would consent to no terms of capitulation. The battle of Naseby, however, put an end at last to hopes which had long survived the grounds of their forma-

tion. Famine did its work ; and one hundred and thirty men, the remains of five hundred, gave up a place which all the force of the republic could have scarcely wrested from them.

It was the general policy of the republicans to dismantle such places of strength as fell into their hands. They dealt differently in this respect with Pomfret Castle. The country round swarmed with royalists, both secret and avowed, and it was considered necessary to hold them in check. Accordingly, Sir Thomas Fairfax being appointed governor, nominated one Colonel Cotterel as his lieutenant, who, with one hundred men, took possession of the castle and put it in a state of defence : for, feeble as the artillery practice of the seventeenth century might be when compared with that of the nineteenth, the cannon of the besiegers had produced some effect ; while one of their mines had shaken down a tower, and sorely rent the curtain attached to it. It was Cotterel's first business to repair these breaches ; and he accomplished it to such purpose, that the castle assumed once more the appearance which it had worn previous to the siege. It may not be

amiss if I describe in few words what that appearance was.

Pontefract Castle consisted, in its integrity, of two lesser courts and a ballium, which were surrounded by lofty walls, parapeted at the top, and of not less than twenty feet in thickness. There were nine great towers, in addition to the barbican, which covered the western approach. There were four principal gates, looking very nearly to the cardinal points, besides numerous sally-ports. Each of these outlets was strongly fortified with an overhanging machicolation, and flanked on either side by a turret. All the towers were loop-holed, the loop-holes ending in circular orifices called *œillets* ; while the keep or dungeon, of which the fragments still remain, constituted a perfect fortress of itself. Moreover, the place was abundantly supplied with water, there being several wells of a great depth in the rock ; and its total *enceinte* covered a surface of eleven statute acres. Such a pile of masonry, crowning the ridge of a steep hill, and protected on the only face which looked towards the slope by a ditch, could not fail to be esteemed impregnable while yet the

effects of a concentrated fire of cannon were unknown; and as there was ample stabling, as well as room for stores, together with grass parks or meadows in which to feed cattle so close to the defences as to be in some sort under the very muzzles of the guns, to reduce it, even by famine, that last resource in cases of siege, would be a work of time. In one word, Pontefract Castle fully deserved the character which up to the period of its destruction it seems to have enjoyed; namely, that for all purposes of defence it was inferior to no place of strength within the realm of England, or of the countries dependant upon it.

Such was the stronghold of which, in 1645, Colonel Cotterel was put in possession, and which, with a body of one hundred men, he was required to keep in the name of the victorious parliament. He accepted the trust without hesitation, and made no complaints of the paucity of his garrison; for the spirit of the cavaliers seemed at this moment to be completely broken, and no human being entertained a notion that it would ever be revived. Therefore, though surrounded by Beaumonts, and Beverleys, and

Lowthers, and Wentworths, and others noted, like them, for their devotion to the cause of the monarchy, the stern republican experienced little dread that any attempt would be made to molest him. He believed, on the contrary, that his foot was on the neck of the Philistines ; and, to a man, they were taught to feel that the clown treads heavily. Severe fines were imposed upon those against whom no specific charge of delinquency had been brought—now on one pretext, now on another—and large sums of money exacted as a compensation for their estates ; while, from time to time, the most obnoxious would be seized in their beds, and carried away as prisoners to the castle. It was not without a struggle that the gentlemen of the West Riding so controlled their tempers as to submit to this treatment. But there are bounds to human patience under all circumstances, and that of the northern cavaliers—at the best of limited extent—was at length worn out.

Cotterel had exercised his jurisdiction unscathed a space of nearly two years, when events took that turn to which allusion was made at the end of the last chapter. The hopes of the royalists began again to revive ; and here

and there, in various parts of the country, combinations were entered into, and conspiracies formed. Among other districts, the immediate vicinity of Pontefract Castle heaved as with the quiverings of an incipient earthquake. Men met in secret, to complain of their private grievances, and to communicate their opinions touching the aspect of public affairs; whilst, occasionally, some individual more impetuous than the rest would hint at the possibility of rearing once more the standard under which they had formerly served and suffered. The most forward among those who counselled bold measures were three brothers, William, Thomas, and Richard Paulden, gentlemen of good descent and of some little property, but by their associates held much more in esteem because of their talents and valour than for their wealth: and there is reason to believe that with one of these James Beaumont was somehow or another connected. At all events, it is certain that so early as the spring of 1647 the cavaliers of the West Riding had begun to plot, and that there needed but the promise of adequate support in other quarters to bring their energies once more into operation.

It chanced that there resided at this time, on his paternal estates near Pontefract, a gentleman named Morrice, whose career had been marked by a good deal of levity, if indeed we be justified in using so mild a term in reference to one whose principles seem to have been always made subservient to his caprices. Brought up as a page in the family of Lord Strafford, Morrice served at the commencement of the war in the king's army, where, however, some wrong, real or imaginary, was put upon him, which his outraged vanity would not permit him to forget. He accordingly resigned in disgust, and soon afterwards, accepting a commission from the parliament, was by his new masters pushed forward with great rapidity. In the course of three years he rose to the rank of colonel; a reward to which his daring courage and admirable conduct seems to have fully entitled him.

But, though greatly respected for his military talents, Colonel Morrice was not the sort of person to command the esteem of leaders who valued themselves as much upon the gravity of their manner as upon their gallantry in the face

of an enemy. Free of speech, somewhat dissolute in his morals, and unable or unwilling to put on the mask of hypocrisy, he was continually doing violence to prejudices for which he himself entertained no respect ; a line of proceeding which sufficed to satisfy the future protector and his satellites, that however meritorious the individual might be as a soldier, he was no fit instrument wherewith to work out purposes which seem already to have been matured. The consequence was, that at the remodelling of the army, Colonel Morrice was, with every imaginable compliment, sent adrift ; and he returned to his own country, there to digest as he best might this fresh outrage to his self-love.

Lord Clarendon has said of Colonel Morrice, that “ as he grew older he heartily detested himself for quitting the king’s service, and resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem it.” I find by referring to the minutes of his trial, which took place at York August 13th, 1649, that he himself gives the same account of his feelings. It is probable, therefore, that the statement is well founded. But, however this

may be, he seems to have made it his business, from the hour of his return into Yorkshire, to cultivate the good opinion of the surrounding gentry, without paying any apparent regard to their opinions as politicians. He played his cards, too, with such consummate address, that in spite of the prejudices which operated on all hands against him, he forced himself not only into the acquaintance, but into the confidence both of republicans and royalists. The former were taught to regard him as a man ill used by their own party; the latter treated him as one who had seen his error, and longed to make amends for it: and it is a curious fact, that while each faction was aware that he associated much with its rivals, by both he was accounted true only to themselves. Hence, when their projects began to mature themselves, the Pauldens held with him frequent and confidential conferences, of which, without betraying his name, they communicated the substance to their confederates; while, at the same time, Cotterel treated him as one who, in spite of wrongs received, was still devoted in heart and soul to the cause of the parliament.

Morrice had served with Cotterel, and was welcomed by him, on his return home, with the feelings of an old and valued comrade. At all hours, both of night and day, he could command admission into the castle, where it was his custom, not unfrequently, to spend an entire week, eating at the governor's board, and sleeping in the governor's bed. Nor was this all. By communicating to his host just so much information touching the designs and proceedings of the cavaliers as sufficed to interest the listener, without seriously affecting those of whom he spoke, Morrice produced a conviction on Cotterel's mind that there was a spy in the enemy's camp, and that no movement could be commenced, nor any enterprise undertaken, without his being made aware of it in good time. Then, again, he not unfrequently ventured to caution and advise, saying, for example, that a better watch ought to be kept, and that the garrison itself should be closely observed, so as to hinder the malignants from tampering with the people composing it. Indeed, if Lord Clarendon's authority be good, he went still further—causing the most trustworthy of the roundheads

to be, one by one, weeded out, and his own creatures received in their room. "He made himself very familiar," says the noble historian, "with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often rise in the night and visit the guards, and by that means would sometimes make the governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under the pretence that he found him always asleep, or some other fault that was not to be examined; and then he would commend some others to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon: and by this means he had very much the power in the garrison." Then, again, by passing from town to town, by frequenting all fairs, markets, and other places of resort, he made himself master to a very extraordinary degree of the bearing of the public mind; for he conversed freely with all men on all topics, and, pretending to be without disguise himself, he threw others off their guard. What his original designs might have been it is hard to say; but the results of so many curious arrangements were striking.

CHAPTER II.

How schemes are formed to surprise the castle.

IT is not my province either to detail the causes which led to the renewal of hostilities in England, or to account for the motives which operated on the minds of those who made ready to engage in them. Some, ashamed of the parts which they had played in the by-gone tragedy, hoped by appearing now in different characters to throw over their past misdeeds the veil of oblivion; others, disappointed in the expectations which they had been led to form, and repenting of the excesses into which circumstances had hurried them, desired to make amends for errors committed under the influence of mistaken principle; while a third party, true to the opinions which they had all along held, were glad to strengthen their own

hands by such alliances as offered. To the second of these classes the majority of the Scottish nation undeniably belonged. There were among them few genuine republicans; fewer still were genuine independents. To their kirk and covenant they were at least as strongly attached as the most bigoted of the cavaliers to episcopacy: nor did their most sanguine desires extend beyond the securing for these the patronage and protection of the crown. When, therefore, it became manifest to them that kirk, covenant, and throne were alike threatened with destruction, their indignation against those by whom they held themselves to have been deceived became very great. No doubt, the king's rejection of the terms proposed by their emissaries somewhat damped their ardour in his cause; but even that procedure was felt to be pardonable in comparison with the profligate inconsistency with which the dominant faction seemed determined to act; and, good use being made of the feeling by those who wished the king well, a rising in his favour was not only talked of, but begun.

There had been a good deal of correspond-

ence between the Duke of Hamilton and the leading cavaliers in London and elsewhere; when Sir Marmaduke Langdale, one of the most chivalrous soldiers of that chivalrous day, set out to mature in Edinburgh some plan of simultaneous revolt. He passed, on his way northward, through the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his influence was deservedly great and his character justly esteemed, and took care to communicate, to such of the gentlemen as could be trusted, a general outline of his intentions. Among others he visited Mr. Beaumont, where the Pauldens met him, and engaged, with several persons of consequence besides, to raise the king's standard whenever the fitting moment should arrive. It was on this occasion that the idea of surprising Pontefract Castle seems first to have been broached. Independently of the wish which the royalists of that quarter entertained to be freed from the restraint which such a fortress put upon them, it was calculated that the parliament would, without doubt, employ a portion of their army in the attempt to recover it; by which means the force opposed to the Scots would be materially weak-

ened. Yet I do not find that any settled scheme was propounded for the accomplishment of this object: on the contrary, the confederates seem to have come only to this general conclusion,—that an attempt upon the place ought to be hazarded, and that as soon as Langdale should advertise them of his movement in advance, they would take up arms and create a diversion in his favour.

Langdale passed on to Scotland, leaving his friends in the vicinity of Pontefract full of zeal and anxiety to begin the fray. They met often in South Kirby; they began to enlist men, and to provide horses and arms, and could by-and-by count on a small but gallant array of three hundred infantry and fifty troopers. Still the main project seemed as far as ever from its accomplishment, for Pontefract Castle continued to frown upon them in defiance. As is apt to be the case with men so circumstanced, the conspirators grew both impatient and careless. One proposed one scheme—another, another; one was for throwing aside the mask at every hazard—another recommended delay; while both parties confessed themselves unable to

suggest any method by which the pledge they had given to their leader might be redeemed. They were in this frame of mind when Thomas Paulden infused fresh vigour into their councils by informing them that the question which had so long and so greatly perplexed them was settled. At their hands, nothing more would thenceforth be required than the exercise of a sound discretion ; for the king had friends who, though they had not yet declared themselves, were both able and willing to serve him effectually. Being pressed to explain himself further, he replied—and I give the answer in his own words—“that a gentleman on whom they might rely with the utmost confidence would surprise the castle whenever they should think the season ripe for it.” But he would not go further. “No, gentlemen,” said he, “of my own secrets I may be careless, for they concern myself alone ; but you must not expect me to betray another man’s confidence. Without meaning to express the smallest distrust either of your honour or your prudence, I feel that I cannot communicate to so numerous a body the details of this scheme ; for a single

rash word might betray it to the enemy—and then where should we be? Content yourselves, therefore, with my assurance that you are in excellent hands, and hold yourselves ready to act with decision at a moment's notice."

The cavaliers might, here and there, grumble at this decision, but they were too much in earnest to take serious offence at it : they, therefore, returned each to his own home, resolute to act upon the hint which Mr. Paulden had given them. But the belief that matters were drawing to a crisis, instead of producing an increase of caution, served but to render many of them more than ever imprudent. So open, indeed, were they in their preparations, and so unguarded in their language, that by the opposite party the alarm was taken. How it came about I do not exactly know, but Morrice himself began about this time to be suspected. Frequent letters were written respecting him, one of which came from General Poyntz, who warned Cotterel to take care of Colonel Morrice, for he had resolved to betray him ; yet such was the skill—perhaps the art—of the accused party, that he baffled all the efforts of his enemies. Nay,

it seemed as if each fresh attempt to undermine his influence in Pontefract had but the effect of confirming it ; for when Cotterel showed him these letters, it was only to laugh at the credulity of the writers, whom their own fears, as well as their ignorance of the facts, had contributed to mislead ;—and to entreat that he would persevere, as he had heretofore done, in collecting information.

Whatever we may think of Morrice as a man of honour, it is impossible to refuse him the credit of extraordinary coolness and courage. While he joined in the governor's ridicule, he yet besought him, for his own sake, not wholly to distrust the intelligence communicated, inasmuch as, were any accident to befall, his neglect of warnings, so often and so solemnly given, could scarcely fail of involving him in trouble. For these reasons it was best that their intimacy should undergo a temporary interruption ; he could retire to his own house till the jealousies of the hour blew over. But Cotterel would listen to no proposition of the kind ; and Morrice, in consequence of the attempt made to bring him into discredit, was more perfectly trusted than ever.

There were in the garrison two officers, Major Ashby and Ensign Smith, both of whom, as well as a Sergeant Floyd, and a corporal, Morrice won over to his own purposes. These bound themselves by oath to forward his attempt whenever it should be made ; and as Cotterel was very careless, permitting a portion of his small force to sleep nightly in the town, there appeared a good prospect of success. Moreover, in proportion as the conspirators within became more and more connected with those from without, the best men belonging to the garrison were dismissed, while Cotterel's mind was kept at ease by Morrice's assurance that, in case of need, he would, with fifty tried adherents, throw himself into the place.

Thus matters continued during the spring of 1648 ; the royalists waiting impatiently for the promised communication from Scotland—their rivals far from satisfied with their own position, or the excessive confidence of their chief. But when Langdale sent no message, and other parts of England began to stir,—when Kent and Surrey and Essex were represented as in arms, and London itself be-

came the scene of frequent tumults,—the eagerness of the cavaliers proved too fierce for restraint. They resolved to strike a blow at all hazards ; and Morrice, now introduced to them and put in possession of their confidence, undertook to render it effectual.

The ordinary guard of the castle consisted of a sergeant, a corporal, and twelve men : the remainder slept, as I have just stated, some within the ditch, others in the town. It was ascertained that the corporal whom Morrice had gained over would be upon duty on the 22nd of May, and on the night of that day all things were directed to be in readiness. The plan of the cavaliers was this :—as near the hour of midnight as possible, the Pauldens, with eighty mounted men, each of whom undertook to carry a foot soldier behind him, promised to be at the foot of the castle-wall with a scaling-ladder. They were to wait there in silence till they heard the relief go round, for the corporal had promised to provide such sentinels as could be relied upon ; and then, planting their ladder, they were to ascend with all haste, surprise the guard, and secure the

person of the governor. Meanwhile Morrice was to repair, as usual, to Cotterel's lodgings, whither, as soon as the alarm was given, he would be in a condition to conduct a party ; and as not so much as a suspicion prevailed in that quarter, all who heard the plan explained anticipated a full and bloodless triumph. But in war, as those most intimately acquainted with it best know, accidents often occur to defeat arrangements on which all possible care has been bestowed ; and of the mode in which these operate, a remarkable specimen was given on this occasion.

In the morning of that day which was to witness at its close the hoisting of the royal standard on the towers of Pontefract, Colonel Morrice, who had purposely held aloof for some time previously, visited Colonel Cotterel. He was welcomed not only with cordiality, but with affection. He was blamed for his apparent weakness in yielding to unfounded clamour, and gently reproached with a disposition to underrate the strength of his host's friendship. To all this he replied in fitting terms, and the day passed, as usual, in social intercourse. Moreover, at the

customary hour the inhabitants of the place retired to rest ; and Morrice lay down, according to the usages of the times, in the same chamber with the governor.

Meanwhile there was a good deal of bustle and preparation elsewhere. In a wood not far from South Kirby, the cavaliers began after dark to assemble ; and by nine o'clock, Captain Paulden, who was to act that night as their leader, found that his numbers were complete. Still there wanted two full hours of the moment for action, which could not be anticipated ; so some slept in their cloaks, others talked apart, and a few kept watch to guard against discovery. Thus the minutes dragged along heavily enough, as they are apt to do when men have some perilous enterprise in hand, and at last the far-off clock of the village told eleven. Now, then, from rank to rank the word passed to the sleepers, and they arose ; the horses were unpicketed, the girths were tightened, and each received its double load,—a cavalry man in front, a musketeer behind.

The conspirators had chosen the night well ; for it was completely moonless, and a mass of

driving clouds, if they sufficed not to extinguish the brilliancy of the stars, at least obscured it. The wind too was high,—a circumstance much in their favour, more especially as it chanced to blow in a direction from the castle; and they maintained among themselves profound silence. On therefore they went, not perhaps quite free from uneasiness,—who is ever quite at his ease when engaged in such a service?—but confident in the strength of their own right arms, and nowise distrustful of those under whom they acted. Moreover, by skirting as far as possible every hamlet that lay between, and passing over moors and commons, which were then abundant, they contrived to reach the spot where it became the duty of the troopers to deposit their comrades unnoticed. In a plantation, distant about a mile or something less from the castle, the horsemen concealed themselves, while the foot soldiers, in small parties of four and five, made their way to the appointed rendezvous, in the ditch between the west gate and the donjon or great tower. There they lay down flat upon their faces, while the ladder which they had brought

with them was kept ready to be applied as soon as the signal for which they waited anxiously should have been given.

How tardy is the foot of time to men circumstanced as on that night were these daring royalists! Though the castle-bell rang out the third quarter soon after they had taken their stations, it seemed as if midnight would never arrive; and when it did come, then was the relief, for which they waited, as slow in going its rounds. At last, however, the tramp of feet on the battlements above was heard. The sentinel challenged; he was answered in a low tone, the cry "All's well!" passed from point to point, and there was again a profound silence. For as long a space of time as he believed would be necessary to carry back the corporal to his guard-house and lull him asleep, Captain Paulden continued quiescent. Then, however, he rose from his lair; and as his followers had already received notice that his rising would be the signal for action, all were on their feet in an instant.

Gazing upwards, they beheld the dark outline of a man's figure reflected against the

horizon. It was stationary, and, through the gloom, Captain Paulden was able to distinguish that the attitude was that of a listener. Still he distrusted nothing, for the plan had been fully explained to him, and he did not doubt that the man was acting his part. He therefore gave the word in a whisper, and the ladder was raised. But a cry from the sentry, and an attempt, apparently abortive, to discharge his arquebuse, soon made the assailants aware that as far as secrecy went their scheme had wholly miscarried. An additional motive for exertion was thus presented to them. If they were discovered, the fate of Morrice and his associates could not be doubted; and Paulden, who felt the thing acutely, encouraged his men to dash on. It rarely happens, however, that an operation begun under a conviction that concealment is necessary to its success, can be carried through after all hope of concealment is laid aside; and the present differed not in this respect from other cases. The ladder was planted: Paulden, followed by a few of the most resolute, began to ascend; and the remainder, crowding about the foot of it, seem-

ed anxious to follow ; when a fire of musketry opened from the parapet, of which the effect was magical. Those who occupied the ditches turned and fled. His adherents sprang to the ground, and Paulden found that he was alone. It would have convicted him of positive insanity, had he not followed the example of the rest : he leaped down, overthrew the ladder, and making for the place of assembly in the plantation, found that, except by about thirty horsemen, the principal gentry engaged, it was already deserted. With these he retired to the wood beyond South Kirby, where for a brief season they lay in hiding.

CHAPTER III.

How disasters were remedied.

WHILE these things were going on without the castle-walls, the state of things within was not different from what under such circumstances might have been expected. At the first alarm, Cotterel and his guest sprang out of bed ; and the latter hurrying to the main-guard, found that his scheme had miscarried through the misconduct of an agent. The corporal, to whom had been entrusted the care of introducing the assailants within the works, had got drunk, and after mounting guard, was relieved. His successor, neither aware of what was going forward, nor inclined, had the case been otherwise, to assist in it, went about his duty after the most approved fashion, and planted near the west gate a sturdy arquebusier, who kept

both his eyes and his ears open. Hence the attempt made to fire on the rearing of the ladder, followed up by an immediate communication of what had happened to the soldiers on duty, who, called suddenly out of their sleep, discharged their pieces at random, without occasioning any loss whatever to the cavaliers. Nay, so abrupt were both the advance and retreat of the enemy, that finding no return of fire from below, the governor refused to believe that the danger had been real, and though he kept his people under arms all night, was still firmly convinced that the sentinel's fears had misled him. When, however, the return of daylight showed him the ladder in the ditch, and he discovered, on a more minute examination, the marks of many feet among the long grass, his incredulity vanished. The sentinel was rewarded for his vigilance, and the necessity of taking precautions against future attempts was felt and acted upon.

It seems impossible to account for the kind of infatuation which, in spite of the occurrence of an adventure so extraordinary, could have rendered Cotterel still incredulous to the tales which

had been told of Morrice's projected treason. He would neither consent to interrupt their intimacy for a season, nor suffer his guest to depart till the whole period of his promised visit had expired; and when he did dismiss him, not only was it done with a total absence of distrust from his own mind, but the advice of the party accused was first of all solicited and obtained touching the best method of rendering Pontefract Castle secure against future attacks. As was natural, the friends came to the same conclusion,—that the leave hitherto granted to the soldiers of spending their nights among their relatives in the town ought to be withdrawn; and as there were not beds enough in the fortress to accommodate even an hundred men, Cotterel undertook to collect by requisition from such of the neighbouring householders as were obnoxious to him, a supply both of bedding and stores of every description adequate to his wants. Morrice highly approved of this device, as well as of the projects which the governor brought forward for re-victualling and otherwise strengthening his post; and having ascertained both the time

and the order in which the necessaries were to be laid in, he took his leave.

The first point towards which Morrice turned his steps was Mr. Beaumont's house in South Kirby; for of late the Pauldens had made him free of that rendezvous, where he had attended several meetings of the king's friends. His next movement carried him into a wood hard by, where, in a ruined tower, which they had fitted up as a sort of dépôt, and in the cellars and vaults of which their magazine of ammunition was kept, the Pauldens, with other leaders of the party, received him. They had experienced much anxiety on his account, as well as on account of their confederates in the garrison, from which the reports of their own spies had but partially relieved them; and their pleasure was proportionately acute when they saw him once more safe and sound among them. But Morrice came not to give and receive congratulations. His reputation stood in some degree committed to secure the castle for the king, and he was determined, at all risks, to go through with the enterprise: indeed, his present purpose was to propound a new scheme,

which, though apparently more hazardous, gave even brighter promise of success than that which had failed. It was this:—

Cotterel had been long accustomed to form his estimate of the characters of the surrounding gentry from Morrice's statements regarding them. Just before the latter quitted him, he had consented to levy his contributions, not from the inhabitants of the town, but from certain families in the neighbourhood; and as he would not run the risk of having his people cut off in detail by sending out detachments to escort the necessaries home, he commanded the obnoxious individuals to forward the stores in which they were respectively assessed by their own carts and wagons. Morrice knew all this; for if he did not positively advise the measure, he at least sanctioned it, and now he resolved to turn it to account. He proposed that himself and William Paulden, with a certain number of their companions, should disguise themselves as countrymen; that they should carry pistols and knives under their frocks, and, overpowering the guard, should keep the castle-gate open till the rest of the confederates arrived

to support them. His scheme was highly approved by men who felt, indeed, that they put all upon the hazard of the die, but were not afraid to abide the throw, and preparations were forthwith made to act upon it. Nine trusty men, in addition to Morrice and Paulden, volunteered for the service of danger. Thomas Paulden, with as large a force as could be collected on the moment, undertook to support them, and the next market-day, being the 6th of June 1648, was fixed upon as the season for action.

There were but two days at the disposal of the conspirators in which to mature their plans, and they were not wasted. Thomas Paulden drew together about fifty horsemen, to whom he appointed an hour and place of assembling; while his brother and Colonel Morrice, with their handful of daring confederates, provided themselves with appropriate disguises and opened a communication with their friends within the walls. Accordingly, at dawn on the 6th of June, there appeared before the principal entrance to the castle three wagons loaded with corn, hay, provisions, blankets and mattresses.

The drawbridge was immediately lowered ; the wagons, with their attendants, passed it ; one got entangled in the gateway beyond, and the others held the bridge down. Meanwhile, money was given to the sentinels on duty wherewith to purchase ale in the town ; and the countrymen, declaring that it would be impossible to proceed further till their wagons were lightened, began to unload. To assist them in this operation, the guard came forth from their apartment unarmed. They were instantly seized, and thrust headlong into a dungeon close by. Then were the wagons drawn hastily through the arch, as a signal for Thomas Paulden and his friends to advance ; and these galloping from their place of concealment behind some fences passed the ditch without opposition, and drew up the bridge behind them.

Still, though the outer court was thus won, and every hazard of an attack from without provided against, the cavaliers knew too well of what stuff old Cotterel was composed, to feel themselves at all secure so long as he was at liberty. Therefore, William Paulden, with two or three others, put themselves under the guidance of

Sergeant Floyd, and hastened to the apartment in the keep or round tower where the governor was accustomed to lie. They found him in his clothes, stretched at length upon the coverlid in the attitude of one who had just lain down, with his tuck, or long straight sword, lying unsheathed beside him, and every other indication about him of one who watches even in his sleep. They dispersed his slumbers very rudely by announcing that the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner. But Cotterel was not the sort of man to be deprived of his self-possession under any circumstances. He leaped from his bed, made a desperate lunge at Paulden, which the latter with some difficulty contrived to parry, and continued to defend himself with extraordinary resolution, in spite of a severe wound on the head and another in the arm. At last, while repeating his thrust, his foot slipped, and the point of his sword coming in contact with the bed-post, it broke off at the hilt, just as his former confederate, Morrice, entered the room and besought him to surrender. The old man saw that further resistance would be unavailing; so he

submitted, and was transferred, as a measure of temporary precaution, to the dungeon beside his men. Nor was further opposition offered anywhere. A considerable portion of the garrison was abroad; among those who occupied the place several were traitors; and the remainder, awakened suddenly out of their sleep, without arms, and destitute of a leader, knew not how to act, and yielded without striking a blow.

Such were the means by which Pontefract Castle passed, in the summer of 1648, from the republicans to the royalists; and such one of the exploits which entitled a primitive inhabitant of Chelsea Hospital to the honourable notice that stood appended to his name in the book of entries. It remains for me now to give some account of the manner in which the victors maintained themselves after they became, in turn, the objects of attack; for, as every reader of history knows, the northern expedition led to no results. Langdale and Musgrave, alike objects of jealousy to the Scots, were restrained from attacking Lambert while yet at the head of a very inferior force, till Cromwell himself

took the field and carried everything before him. The fatal battles of Wigan and Warrington put an end for ever to the hopes of the royalists in that quarter, and nothing remained for the brave men who had espoused the cause except to sell their lives (their honour they could not lose) at as dear a rate as possible.

The captors of Pontefract Castle hoisted the royal standard at an early hour on the 6th of June. They were reinforced before nightfall by not fewer than five hundred men, whom the sight of that beloved ensign fluttering in the breeze withdrew from their peaceful occupations. Moreover, as it chanced to be market-day, Morrice took care to replenish his magazine of provisions, as far as the supply brought into the town for a widely different purpose, would allow; while at the same time he distributed arms to such as appeared worthy to be trusted, and minutely examined the state of the fortifications. Wherever these stood in the smallest need of repair, workmen in large numbers were employed upon them; and they laboured with such excellent will, that long before

the expiration of a week, the fortress was put in a far more defensible condition than it had been since the commencement of the civil war.

It is curious to observe the terms in which the principal agent in this enterprise is spoken of by those among his contemporaries who make mention of him at all. The royalists describe him as a perfect hero; the republicans undervalue both his courage and his conduct, that they may dwell with perhaps justifiable indignation upon his selfishness and treachery. I have nothing whatever to do with these disputes, being as little the eulogist as the denunciator of the individual; but the facts of his case abundantly prove, that if at bottom a selfish man, he was likewise a prudent man. Thus, when the country began to rise, and men of acknowledged political weight took the field, he not only set up no claim to be regarded as their leader, but refused to take upon himself the government of Pontefract even when urged to do so by his comrades. On the contrary, he made a point of placing Sir John Digby in that station of trust, and was himself content to act under Sir John as second in command. And it is

worthy of remark, that the sturdy knight put so just an estimate on his lieutenant's motives, that he never undertook any enterprise, nor concocted any scheme, without consulting him. Perhaps, therefore, Morrice's prudence might be, after all, but selfishness double-refined; for it is certain that by him the substance of authority was wielded, Sir John retaining or seeking to retain only its trappings.

The fate of Pontefract Castle created great uneasiness among the adherents of the parliament in Yorkshire. They were quite unprepared for such a blow, and as the small division of the regular army which occupied this county had its hands full in watching Langdale and Musgrove, they could not but entertain some apprehensions for the future. A militia force was in consequence called out by the Committee of Safety, which, under Sir Edward Rhodes and Sir Henry Cholmley, was directed to invest Pontefract,—not so much under the expectation that they would be able to reduce the place, as in order to restrain the governor from making excursions into the surrounding country. Even in this latter respect the re-

publicans were moreover but partially successful. During the space of time that was required to draw the levies to a head, the garrison ranged far and near over the West Riding, carrying off without scruple from towns and villages, and gentlemen's seats, whatever seemed requisite for their own accommodation. And when the militia did arrive, they proved quite inadequate to block up every line of communication between the besieged and their supplies. Sorties were made continually, very seldom without effect; while such was the good understanding that prevailed between those within the fort and those without, that almost all took place at the precise moment when there was the best prospect of reaping advantage from them. Take, for example, the following specimen:

Sir Henry Cholmley had occupied his ground about a week, though his ranks were yet far from being filled up, when information reached the castle, that three hundred head of cattle, escorted by five troops of horse, would pass, on a certain day, southward. Preparations were immediately entered into to make a dash at

them ; and thirty chosen troopers, under the command of one of the Pauldens, were told off for the service. These sallied out soon after dark, accompanied by half-a-dozen foot-soldiers, whom, for expedition's sake, six of them carried on the croups of their saddles, and coming upon the convoy in a field near Knottingley, they immediately charged it. While the horsemen kept the enemy's cavalry at bay, the foot-soldiers, who were armed only with half-pikes, paid their attention to the cattle. They collected them together and drove them off, making use of their pikes as goads ; and so well was the whole affair managed, that not a hoof escaped them. Neither did the escort venture to cross swords with their assailants. They followed, indeed, and made repeated spurts, as if it had been their intention to charge ; but seeing their adversaries firm and prepared to meet them, they on each occasion reined up. Thus by one bold stroke was a supply of fresh meat obtained, which set the garrison for many weeks above the risk of want ; and as they had an excellent pasturage

under the muzzles of their guns, they anticipated, with good reason, a long exemption from famine.

The success which attended them in this and other excursions of the kind produced its natural effect on the garrison of Pontefract. They learned to underrate the power of the enemy, and became careless. It is true, that in most instances a daring courage carried them clear of perils into which the absence of due care had hurried them; and that the terror of their name sufficed to obtain, both far and near, a prompt acquiescence in their wishes. But it was not always so; and once or twice they paid dearly for their rashness. On the 3rd of July, for example, a party penetrated as far as the Trent, and took possession of the Isle of Axholm. Not satisfied with this, they pushed on to Lincoln, where several very obnoxious republicans resided, of whom some were mercilessly plundered, others made prisoners, and one, by name Smith, a sequestrator under the parliament, put to death. Now, had the marauders retreated, after accomplishing their object, even from this remote

point, it is probable, so accurate was their intelligence, that they might have reached the castle in safety. But they did not retreat: on the contrary, they wasted three precious days in Lincoln, thereby enabling the enemy to become aware of their situation, and giving them time to take advantage of it. And the consequence was, that the party, being attacked by a superior force at Willoughby, were to a man cut off; their leader was taken, and the rest killed or dispersed. Still the spirit of the survivors continued as lofty as ever, and the period was near at hand when its constancy would be put to the proof.

CHAPTER IV.

How the cavaliers were grievously beleagured, and how they undertook a desperate enterprise.

I ALLUDED some time ago to the disastrous issue of the Scottish invasion, and to the utter ruin of the king's friends at Wigan and Warrington. The effects of these defeats were not slow of being felt at Pontefract. Day by day the investment became more close, while the hope of relief grew fainter; for there was no other army in the field capable of seconding them, and all to which the cavaliers could look was the generally unsettled state of the country. Yet, though repeatedly summoned and offered terms of capitulation, they refused to treat, and continued to defend themselves with equal obstinacy and address. It was still a great object with them to keep open their communications with the country, for which purpose they

seized New Hall, a gentleman's seat distant about a couple of miles from the eastern face of the castle. This they barricaded and otherwise rudely fortified; and placing a garrison in it, they held it as a sort of outwork during many weeks. Moreover, they kept the besiegers continually on the alert, by bold and well-directed sallies, from which they seldom came back except as victors, and with comparatively trifling loss. But there was an end put to this state of things at last. Fairfax, growing weary of the delay, and attributing it to want of skill on the part of Cholmley, directed Colonel Rainsborough to supersede him in the command; and the latter marched northward at the head of twelve hundred foot, two regiments of horse, and a train of heavy cannon.

The garrison had friends without, from whom they received constant intelligence of the enemy's movements; nor was the approach of Rainsborough, with his formidable reinforcement, long concealed from them. The information was not calculated to increase their confidence; yet it led to the formation of a

plan to which, in point of hardihood, I do not know that any parallel is to be found even in the military annals of the seventeenth century. During the brief campaign which put a final extinguisher on the hopes both of the royalists and the covenanters, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the idol of the cavaliers in the West Riding, had fallen into the victors' hands. There was a rumour prevalent that his enemies designed to put him to death, and that, in order to wound the feelings and work upon the fears of his adherents, the execution would take place within sight of the walls of Pontefract Castle. Nobody paused to consider whether these rumours were likely to be well founded, for there was no atrocity of which the one faction did not believe that the other would be guilty; but a strong desire prevailed to get possession of the person of some parliamentary officer, whose life might be held as a sort of pledge for that of Langdale. To Captain William Paulden belongs the credit of suggesting that Rainsborough might be seized. Perilous the operation would of course be, while to carry it through would require intelligence as well as courage;

but danger had no terrors for the brave men to whom he spoke, and they were all fertile in resources. Under such circumstances, the necessary arrangements were soon discussed, and a selection made of the individuals who should play a part in the drama; after which the council of war broke up, and till dusk no more notice was taken of the matter.

It was the end of October, and during a space of nearly four months the castle had been in a state of siege; yet not only was no breach effected in its defences, but the garrison still had it in their power, with the exercise of common caution, to pass backwards and forwards to New Hall, if not to almost any given point in the open country. To be sure, the besiegers, as they increased in numbers, increased also in vigilance; and taking possession of the town and of the fields and meadows near, they began to render these excursions both inconvenient and dangerous. But the prize to be aimed at now was in all respects so valuable, that the prospect of incurring risk and inconvenience in the attempt gave uneasiness to no one. It was known to Captain Paulden and his friends

that Rainsborough would move upon Doncaster, where lodgings were prepared for him against the night of the 1st of November, and they determined to seize him there, in the very heart of his guards, and bring him back a prisoner to Pontefract. Now, when it is considered that Doncaster is distant from Pontefract full fifteen miles; that in order to reach the former place, it would be necessary to pass through the heart of the enemy's lines; that the town itself was filled with infantry, and the villages near swarming with hostile troopers,—some idea may be formed of the devoted gallantry of those who undertook to follow Paulden on so desperate an enterprise. Of that number my friend Beaumont seems to have been one, and the manner of the procedure was as follows :

A little before midnight on the 31st of October, two-and-twenty men paraded in the castle court, all of them well mounted, all armed with swords and pistols, and all intimately acquainted with the highways and byways for many leagues round the town. I find that the officers in command of the troop were, besides Paulden him-

self, Lieutenant Austwick, and Cornet Blackburn ; and I mention their names, because more remains to be told of them. Among the privates I am unable to particularise any except my Chelsea pensioner : but be they whom they might, they waited only till the clock struck twelve, when riding through a gate which was left open for their passage, they emerged into a meadow, at the lower extremity of which two videttes from the enemy's horse were posted. As it was of the utmost importance to prevent an alarm, each trooper was now directed to ride forward alone, so that one by one they might, if possible, pass between the stations of the enemy. Nothing could exceed the coolness with which the order was obeyed. In single files, distant a couple of hundred yards one from another, these gallant fellows ran the gauntlet, and halted to form again, with as much precision as if it had been day, at the place appointed. And now, at least for a while, all difficulty was overcome ; they pursued their journey in the highest spirits, and reaching Mexborough just as the day began to dawn, they there halted.

My reader need scarcely be informed that, generally speaking, the dresses and appointments of the parliamentary forces differed in no respect from those of the king's troopers. Both parties wore steel caps, buff coats, cuirasses if they were rich enough to procure them, sharp stout cut-and-thrust swords, and pistols of a most portentous length. A scarf, indeed, worn over the shoulder, was the only badge by which the cavaliers were accustomed to distinguish themselves, and their scarfs, for obvious reasons, Paulden's party had left behind. They were received, therefore, by the inhabitants of Mexborough as a relief from Cholmley's army, and spent the day in quiet. Meanwhile, one of the body was sent forward in disguise, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any alarm prevailed in Doncaster; and he returned towards dusk with the gratifying intelligence that all was perfectly quiet. Neither had he executed his commission by halves. There were royalists in Doncaster as well as in other places, one of whom undertook to advertise them of danger should such arise; and his method of doing so was as simple as it promised to be effectual.

He agreed to meet the party at the village of Conisborough, about two miles distant from Doncaster. If he came empty-handed, then must they shift for themselves; if he carried a Bible, they might go forward—a quaint, but in those days a remarkably safe telegraph, as related both to the bearer and to those who were to profit from it. Thus, all preliminary matters being arranged as far as human foresight could direct them, the individual coolness and courage of the parties engaged must accomplish the rest; and it does not appear that there existed in any of their minds the slightest misgiving as to the result.

Mexborough was at that time a mere hamlet, built upon the margin of the river Don, and the head-quarters of a ferry-boat, which plied regularly from one bank of the stream to the other. Of this, as soon as it grew dusk, Paulden took possession, and passed both his men and horses deliberately to the opposite bank. Both men and horses had refreshed during the day, and were therefore quite fit for travel; and their leader so arranged matters, that they entered Conisborough just as the dawn began to break. To their inex-

pressible satisfaction, the spy met them, carrying his Bible in his hand. They took no notice of him—it had been agreed that they should not; but each man whispered his thoughts to his file-leader as they rode by, and was answered with a smile. And now were the last instructions communicated by Paulden to his followers. He divided the troop into four sections. To six men he gave it in charge to secure the guard at that end of the town by which they must enter; six more he directed to ride on, and overpower the guard at the bridge beyond; four were to penetrate into the inn, and seize Rainsborough in his bed; while himself with the remaining six should patrol the streets, and keep the enemy from collecting in force. Paulden spoke to soldiers, each of whom was capable, from his intelligence and address, not only to follow, but to lead, on such occasions; and they all undertook to execute the tasks assigned them, or to perish.

It was still the grey of the morning when our little troop approached Doncaster, the entrance to which was barricaded, and kept by a sergeant's party of foot. Being challenged, they stated that they were the bearers of a despatch

from General Cromwell, and, as they came from the north, no doubts were experienced as to the truth of the statement. They were thus permitted to pass the barricade unmolested ; but no sooner was this done, than they wheeled sharply round, drew their swords, and fell upon the guard, who being separated from their weapons, could offer no resistance, but fled into the open country. This done, the appointed six spurred for the bridge, of which they gained possession without loss ; while the four, whose task was perhaps the most delicate of the whole, rode leisurely up the street. They found the inn-gate open ; but a sentry was on duty before it, to whom they told the same tale which had deceived the sentinel at the barricade, and with the very same effect. Being admitted into the yard, three dismounted, while the fourth, according to his officer's desire, turned back, and joined himself to a picket which occupied another bridge, on the direct road to Pontefract. Meanwhile his comrades thus disposed of themselves : one held the horses of the other two, while these—namely, Lieutenant Austwick and James Beaumont—mounted the

stairs towards the suite of apartments which the general was represented as occupying. They were met in an ante-chamber by the officer on duty, who conducted them to the chamber in which Rainsborough slept ; and they found him in bed, though just awakened by the creaking of the door on its hinges. Immediately, Lieutenant Austwick produced a sealed packet, and delivered it : but before Rainsborough could break the seal, Lieutenant Austwick seized his sword, while Beaumont, throwing himself upon the officer who stood by, bore him to the ground and disarmed him. All this was so completely the work of a moment, that neither Rainsborough nor his subaltern could comprehend more of their situation than that they were both in the power of the enemy. They accordingly agreed to surrender, on an assurance that no personal violence would be offered to them ; and the general, rising, began immediately to dress himself.

Thus far all had gone well with the hardy adventurers. Their prize was secured, and it only remained to bear him off before an alarm could be given. Neither did he offer the

slightest opposition to their wishes, inasmuch as he concluded, not unnaturally, that the whole town was in the enemy's possession. He followed them down stairs; but when he beheld, in the court-yard below, only a single trooper, standing with the bridles of three horses over his arm, the spirit of the stern republican revived, and he positively refused to budge a step further. There was no time to argue the point, so his assailants laid violent hands upon him, and a struggle ensued, during the progress of which one of them unfortunately dropped both his sword and pistol. In a moment the pistol was seized by Rainsborough's officer; while Rainsborough himself, shaking off the hold of his immediate adversary, snatched up the sword. What could now be done? A single shot—a single cry—would rouse twelve hundred men, by whom the place was occupied; the escape of the individuals who now fought for freedom must produce the same effect. In either case, the destruction of the royalists was certain; nay, more—the officer by whom the pistol had been obtained took his aim with such deliberation, that had he been permitted to fire, the bel-

ligerents would have been placed, in point of numbers, on a footing of equality. Lieutenant Austwick, who had mounted his horse for the purpose of carrying off Rainsborough behind him, saw this, and hastened to prevent it. He plunged his sword into the republican's breast, and laid him dead at his feet.

Rainsborough saw his officer fall, yet, nothing daunted, continued to defend himself against men whose object it was, not to kill, but to take him alive. He fought, however, with such desperation, that Beaumont, in self-defence, wounded him in the neck, and then closing with him, endeavoured, but in vain, to wrest the sword from his hand. But before this could be effected, the clash of the weapons and the cries of the general had roused the inmates of the hotel, and at galleries and windows naked men showed themselves in great numbers. It was evident that to take the man alive under such circumstances was impossible; while his determination manifestly was, not to give a free egress to his assailants, but to turn the tables upon them, and render them his prisoners. Of course the royalists could not agree

to this : therefore, Lieutenant Austwick, finding that he would not be shaken off, struck at the obstinate man with all his force, and the blow taking effect on a vital part, Rainsborough fell dead.

This was not the time either for deliberation, or useless regret at the issue of the expedition ; for a hubbub of voices was already begun, and in a few minutes the whole town would be in commotion. The three cavaliers therefore sprang into their saddles, and dashing through the gateway, joined their comrades, to whom they communicated all that had happened. Like a prudent man, Paulden determined to escape while he could ; and, aware of the effect of noise upon persons just awakened out of sleep, he caused his people to set up a shout, and to gallop furiously over the pavement. At the same time, the parties at the north bridge and barricade were called in, and the whole being united, charged the picket which occupied the other, and dispersed them without loss. Then rode they with all speed towards Pontefract, sweeping along with them about fifty stragglers whom they picked up by the way, some exer-

cising their horses, others following such occupations as men are apt to engage in who fancy themselves remote from danger. Nor was the slightest attempt made to pursue them: on the contrary, when the bodies of General Rainsborough and his attendant were seen lying each in its pool of blood, so great a panic seized the troops, that the best exertions of their officers were needed to hinder them from dispersing, in order to escape a danger which was only the more formidable by reason of the mystery which surrounded it.

Great was the joy of Morrice and his people when their gallant comrades returned to them: for though the object of the expedition had in some degree failed, the lives of these brave men were much more highly esteemed than any degree of success, however complete. Moreover, during the brief period of their absence, intelligence had been received in the castle which, had it reached them in time, would have obviated the necessity of the expedition. Sir Marmaduke Langdale had escaped; and as their sole object in seizing Rainsborough was to obtain a competent hostage for the life of their own

chief, it was now a matter of indifference whether the republican were secured or not. Yet was their joy soon afterwards converted into sorrow : Paulden, the heroic leader in the sortie, who had both planned and conducted the expedition with so much skill, sickened and died ; the fatigues which he had undergone operating on a constitution naturally delicate so as to produce a mortal fever. They buried him in the chapel of St. Clement's with military honours, and mourned over his grave with perfect sincerity.

CHAPTER V.

How the siege went on, and the cavaliers defended themselves.—Of the results of the siege, and the fate of the garrison.

FROM the date of this excursion up to the month of March following, the siege of Pontefract Castle went forward ; the enemy pressing it with all the science as well as courage of which they were masters,—the garrison defending themselves with their accustomed hardihood, intrepidity, and vigilance. So frequent, indeed, were their sallies, and so unvarying the success which attended them, that the besiegers began by degrees to despond, and there arose frequent quarrels among the officers, accompanied by the inevitable result of such a state of things—insubordination in the ranks. It was at this critical juncture that Cromwell, returning victorious

from his Scottish campaign, appeared under the walls of the fortress. His arrival, while it infused fresh courage into the assailants, was productive of great uneasiness in the garrison,—more especially when the lines of circumvallation became every day more narrowed, and redoubts sprang up on all sides as if by the power of magic. Still, though some counselled a capitulation, and a few went over to the enemy, the bulk of the defenders remained faithful to their principles. The officers, indeed, knew that they had little to hope from submission; and the men were willing to share the fortunes of those whom they obeyed not more from a sense of military duty than out of affection.

Cromwell reached Pontefract early in November, and personally superintended the siege for about a month. During this interval the royalists were driven from New Hall, and the communications with the open country very much impeded by the erection of strong places of arms and enclosed redoubts at different points round the castle. Yet they continued to hold a correspondence with several of their friends in the neighbourhood, and ceased not,

by desperate and repeated sallies, to harass and alarm the enemy. One of these proved very disastrous to themselves. In an attempt to recover possession of New Hall, they were so roughly handled, that out of a hundred and twenty men employed in the service, scarcely one half fought their way back ; and the idea of re-establishing the outpost was in consequence laid aside.

Cromwell had largely increased the means at the disposal of the besiegers, and compelled the besieged to act entirely on the defensive ; when the state of affairs in London and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight induced him to move upon the capital. The command of the army before Pontefract was in consequence assigned to General Lambert, an officer of considerable talents and distinguished reputation, who was especially directed to accept of no terms which should hinder him from taking ample vengeance for the murder, as it was termed, of Rainsborough. Lambert entered upon the duties of his office on the 4th of December, and pushed his approaches with determined vigour. He threw up batteries for

heavy cannon, opened a breaching fire upon the western tower, sank mines, and adopted all the customary expedients to force a surrender; but he did not succeed, for his fire was returned with overwhelming effect, counter-mines were dug, and more than once his advanced trenches were emptied and his entrenching tools carried away by a sudden rush. Believing, therefore, that famine would do more for him than open violence, he gradually desisted from his attacks, and applied all his care to hinder the throwing in of supplies. I have alluded to the meadows under the guns of the fortress, into which the garrison were accustomed to drive their cattle for pasturage. Towards these he directed his marksmen to turn their attention; and they did their work with such unceasing industry, that neither man nor beast could venture to come abroad. Moreover, his vigilance in observing the movements of suspected persons without was unremitting: several of these he detected in the act of communicating with the besieged, of whom some were women, and two clergymen; and one, the very Mr. Beaumont at whose house the plan of the insurrection had been ma-

tured, he hanged up by sentence of a court-martial within sight of the walls.

It would be tedious to pursue in detail the progress of a siege which not only survived all reasonable prospect of relief on the part of the blockaded, but came not to an end even with the life of the prince in whose name they were in arms. Charles the First died upon the scaffold on the 30th of January 1649, and care was taken that Morrice and his brave associates should not long remain ignorant of the fact. A flag of truce was sent in to inform the cavaliers of what had occurred, and to propose to them once more that they should surrender on honourable terms. But, though sadly diminished in numbers, and reduced by sickness and sorrow to a state of great comparative weakness, they would listen to no proposition which appeared to them to affect their honour: on the contrary, they proclaimed his son Charles the Second by sound of trumpet; they drank his health joyously in water, their wine being consumed, and the same night made a sortie with such fury, that they had well nigh penetrated to the enemy's magazine. Nay, more: it is worthy

of remark, that the first coin struck in England bearing the name of Charles the Second was struck in Pontefract Castle by its devoted occupants. I believe that a few impressions of this medal, for such in truth it was, are still to be found among the collections of the curious; and that my readers may know it when it happens to come in their way, I copy from an authentic source the following description: "The coin is a silver one. Above is the impression of a crown; and beneath, in the field, are the words, 'Hanc Deus dedit 1648.' Round the rim is this legend: 'Carol. II. D. G. Mag. B. F. Hi. R.' The reverse bears the impression of a castle, having on its sinister side the letters '*obs*'; and above, on each flank of the central tower, the two capitals P. C. Round the whole is the motto, 'Post mortem Patri, pro Filio.'"

Time passed, and week by week and day by day the condition of the besieged became more and more desperate. It was to no purpose that they risked their lives continually in the vain effort to reopen their communications with the country—that they husbanded their resources, endured privations of every kind, and exhibited,

from the highest to the lowest, a noble specimen of patience as well as of valour. No relief came, nor could any be expected ; while the empty condition of their magazines gave proof that to resist much longer would be impossible. Under such circumstances, and with a bleeding heart, Colonel Morrice proposed that they should capitulate ; and his faithful followers only acceded to the proposition because they felt that it was inevitable. Still a bold face was put upon the matter. Thomas Paulden, the brother of him whose loss they deplored, undertook to be the bearer of the message ; and he executed his task in a manner worthy of his name. “ They were not,” he said, “ afraid to die. They had still provisions left, and could, unless admitted to honourable terms, hold out some time longer ; and if things came to the worst, it was always in their power to sell their lives at a dear rate.”

Lambert was himself a brave man, and, like most brave men, a generous one ; so that, had he been left free to exercise his own discretion, it seems probable that he would have dealt kindly by the applicants. But he was not left to his own discretion : the orders which he had

received were peremptory, and he could not utterly disobey them; but he believed that he might temper them to a certain degree, and he resolved to do so. He answered the flag of truce by throwing a letter over the wall, wrapped, for the sake of solidity, round a large stone, and addressing himself, not to the governor, but to the troops in garrison, endeavoured to work both upon their vanity and their hopes. "He knew," he said, "that they were gallant men, and was anxious to save the lives of as many as possible; but his hands were tied, and six he was obliged to except from the general promise of protection: neither could he specify the individuals aimed at till the treaty of surrender should have been signed; but with respect to the rest, he was happy in being able to assure them that they might all return to their own homes in peace; for he would undertake to obtain from the parliament an easy composition for their delinquency, provided they would give their parole not again to take up arms against the established government of the country."

The letters were picked up and read by the soldiers; but they produced no unworthy effect

upon their minds. They carried them, on the contrary, to Morrice, who calling his officers together, put the business entirely into their hands, and assured them, that with their decision, whatever it might be, he would be satisfied. To a man, they declared that they would never render up the place except at the command of their chief, and drew up a reply to General Lambert's proposal, which was forwarded immediately. Its substance was this:—"The officers and soldiers composing the king's garrison in Pontefract Castle thanked General Lambert for his kindness and civility, and declared that they would have gladly embraced his offer, had it been consistent with their personal honour: but they could not be guilty of so base an act as he required them to perform, by delivering six of their companions in arms to certain death." Thus was the negotiation brought to a close, much to the regret of both parties, and for some days longer hostilities went on.

Alas! there is no degree of resolution which will enable men to bear up against the combined pressure of wounds and watching, bodily

weakness and famine. Out of five hundred men, the original strength of the garrison, only one hundred now survived; and these were so enfeebled by sickness and the lack of food, as to be, very many of them, unfit for duty. Colonel Morrice felt that it would be cruel to make any farther demands upon their endurance; so he reopened his intercourse with Lambert, and sent six officers with full powers to complete a treaty,—subject, of course, to his own approval, and that of their companions. On the part of the parliamentarians a like number of commissioners was named, and the meeting took place in what was called the Great Barn, midway between the castle and New Hall. Colonel Bright, who represented Lambert on that occasion, had no fresh proposals to make. He gave the same assurances that had been given before, and required the same concessions; so that the single point to be determined amounted to this: “who were to be the victims?” Bright had no authority to particularise on that head; he therefore refused to pledge himself to anything, except “that none of the gentlemen appointed to treat

for the capitulation would be exempted from the amnesty.”—“Was the governor one of the doomed six?” Bright evaded this question by saying, “that the general did not take so much account of Colonel Morrice, as of others who had betrayed to him the castle.”

I do not know that men in the desperate circumstances which surrounded Morrice’s commissioners would have been very much to blame had they consented to treat on these terms : but Henry Paulden was one of them, and the spirit which animated him throughout operated on the others also ; — they expressed deep regret that no more satisfactory communication should have been made to them, and withdrew.

While pursuing their progress homewards, they began, as was natural, to discuss both their own prospects and the designs of the enemy. Some were willing to persuade themselves that Bright’s evasive reply amounted to an assurance of safety for their commander ; others, and of this number Paulden was one, held a directly contrary opinion : but all came to the same conclusion, — that they were bound to state the facts undisguisedly at head-quarters,

and to leave to others the task of drawing from them their own inferences.

In this spirit they came to Morrice, and told him all. Not for a moment does he seem to have misunderstood General Lambert's intentions. Though some endeavoured to persuade him that there could be no design against his life, otherwise the parliamentary commissioner would have spoken out, Morrice himself saw at a glance the true nature of his position, and, with a magnanimity and courage worthy of the age in which he lived, declared himself resigned to his fate. "If I am to be one of the excepted persons," said he, "I will take my chance; for I cannot endure the thought that so many brave men should perish for my sake." There was not a dry eye in the council when this declaration was made, except his own.

Paulden's views coincided entirely with those of the governor in the interpretation which was put upon Colonel Bright's equivocal reply; and as he had determined never to be a party, either directly or indirectly, to the surrender of his friend, he now entreated that another commissioner might be appointed in his room to

carry on the negotiation. It was, indeed a stern necessity alone which drove any of that devoted band to purchase safety for themselves at the expense of a life which was, in some sort, dearer to them than their own : but the necessity was very urgent ; and he who felt that it told against himself was the most eager in pressing a compliance with it. Accordingly, the commissioners went abroad again, with plenary powers to sign and complete the capitulation ; and their business being of the simplest kind, it was very soon completed. The castle was to be rendered up, with all its munitions of war : the garrison was to march out, and lay down its arms in the ditch ; after which the individuals composing it were to depart in safety, each man to his own home, with the exception of six victims who were reserved for military execution. And now the black list was handed to the commissioners, and read with feelings which I cannot undertake to describe ; for it contained the names of men whom peculiar circumstances had endeared to them, and of whom they seemed to themselves to be signing the death-warrant. First, there

was Colonel Morrice, a man obnoxious on various accounts to the ruling powers; then, Lieutenant Austwick and Cornet Blackburn, the two surviving leaders in that daring enterprise which had ended in the death of Rainsborough; and last of all, Major Ashby, Ensign Smith, and Sergeant Floyd, the principal instruments by whose means Pontefract Castle had passed into the hands of the cavaliers. It is fair to add, that when the news reached the garrison, one feeling of the deepest sorrow pervaded all classes. Only the victims themselves, who appear throughout to have looked forward to such an end, were composed; and their main desire seemed to be, to communicate a portion of their composure to others.

I am describing a state of society during which, if there was everywhere a great contempt for human life, instances of chivalrous and heroic bearing among enemies occurred not unfrequently. The annals of the period attest, moreover, that the sentiment was as common on the one side as on the other; and the result of this treaty enables me to bring before my readers a remarkable specimen of such generosity. It was

impossible for the garrison to draw back from an agreement into which their commissioned agents had entered ; neither indeed were they, physically speaking, in a state to endure the miseries of a siege any longer. But they resolved to make one effort more to save the lives of their comrades, by appealing to the better feelings of the conqueror. Once again the commissioners went forth to entreat, not that Lambert would change his decree, but that he would grant a respite of six days—during which the doomed men might endeavour to escape, their comrades assisting them in the effort. Lambert would not refuse so soldier-like a boon : he readily granted the six days, and consented that the whole of the beleagured garrison should use them as might be judged expedient, exacting only a promise that the place should be given up as soon as the six days expired. There was much rejoicing within the walls when the result of the negotiation was stated, and every man who had strength enough left to carry a weapon made ready to wield it.

The first day after the conclusion of this remarkable treaty, very little was done. Once

or twice the royalists made a demonstration as if they meant to sally out ; while the besiegers reinforced the posts which seemed to be threatened, and kept generally on the alert. At daybreak on the second day, a gate at the opposite side of the castle was suddenly unbarred, and seventy men, some on foot, others on horseback, rushed forth. They swept through the meadow like lightning, drove in the enemy's sentries, and found themselves all at once opposed to a force much more formidable than they had expected to meet in that quarter. The fact was, that having unfortunately made choice of the hour when the republicans were accustomed to relieve their outposts, they had both the old and new guard to encounter ; so that even in point of numbers the odds were as much against them as the moral effect was in favour of their adversaries. But this was a struggle for life or death, and the cavaliers knew it : on they rushed, sword in hand, in spite of a close and warm volley, cutting and trampling down such as met them, and themselves suffering severely. Neither was the sortie wholly fruitless,—two of their devoted

band burst the enemy's line: Colonel Morrice and Cornet Blackburn cut their way through, and fled for their lives.

By this time the alarm was communicated to the camp, and strong supports both of horse and foot advanced to the scene of action. Before these the overmatched cavaliers gave ground, and carrying four of their devoted comrades along with them in the rout, they retired to the fort. But though very roughly handled, as well as surprised by the degree of resistance offered, they were not yet willing to despair. The escape of two they accepted as a foretaste of the escape of all; and they determined to choose their time, in order to bring about the desired result with greater ease. Having remained quiet therefore during two whole days in the hope of throwing the enemy off their guard, they made, just after nightfall on the evening of the fourth, another furious onslaught. Poor fellows! they gained nothing by this. One, indeed, of the proposed victims met a soldier's fate, for he died fighting gallantly in the heart of a republican squadron; but the other three were, with

their maimed and overmatched friends, driven back again within the walls. It was Ensign Smith who perished on this occasion ; and his comrades did honour to his remains, by carrying them through the fight into the castle, and burying them beside the body of Paulden in St. Clement's Chapel. But their capability of exertion was ended ; indeed, the three survivors, Austwick, Ashby, and Floyd, would not consent that any more blood should be shed for no other purpose than to preserve them. Still one chance remained, and, as drowning men catch at straws, they agreed to deal with it. Among the extensive buildings of the castle, many of which were now in ruins, a dilapidated sally-port was discovered ; into which the garrison introduced the doomed men, with an abundant stock of provisions. They then built up the apertures on both sides with loose stones, taking care to leave ample space for fresh air ; and having supplied the prisoners with pick-axes, and other instruments of the sort, they left them to their fate. It was the evening of the 23rd of March when this arrangement was completed, and at an early hour on the following day

the garrison set up a shout ; after which they hung out a white flag, and proposed to surrender. The messenger being questioned as to the cause of this rejoicing, stated, that their comrades were all beyond the reach of danger, and that now they were not only ready, but willing and eager, to deliver into the general's hands a place which they had kept for some time back only as a point of honour.

My story is well nigh told ; for the consequences of this announcement are matters of history, and the blackened walls and ruined defences of Pontefract proclaim the uses to which Lambert turned his victory. He caused the remains of the garrison to march out the same day, and examined them closely one by one, finding it impossible to credit the statement which had been made to him relative to the escape of his victims. When, however, nobody appeared corresponding to their description, he ceased to search further, frankly admitting that the escape of the brave soldiers was to him a matter of sincere congratulation. And the brave soldiers did escape : the same night, hearing no noise as of searchers, they broke through their

narrow prison, and fleeing beyond seas, found such treatment there as poor cavaliers were wont to receive. Two, indeed, Austwick and Floyd, survived to witness the Restoration, being in that respect more fortunate than those who had preceded them in their flight; for Morrice and his companion, being taken in Lancashire, were transferred to York Castle, where, after the mockery of a trial before judges who brow-beat them, they both died on the scaffold.

With respect again to Beaumont, I am forced to acknowledge that, as I can trace him very imperfectly through the operations of the siege, so, as soon as these come to an end, he eludes me altogether. Whether he too went abroad—whether he fought at Worcester—whether he dwelt quietly at home, or led the life of a wanderer—I cannot tell. I only know that he died an inmate of Chelsea Hospital; and I think that his services, even if they went no further than taking a part in the operations which have just been described, fully entitled him to a home in the old soldiers' asylum.

A LEGEND OF
MAIDSTONE FIGHT.

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CHAPTER I.

Of a tumult in Canterbury.

THERE are few places in the empire—perhaps I might have said, in the world—which stand so little in need of being described as the ancient and renowned city of Canterbury. Traversed as it is from day to day by all who pass to or from the Continent, its streets, its lanes, its alleys, its ruined fortifications, its picturesque gateways, and above all, its magnificent cathedral, are both to Englishmen and to foreigners familiar as the scenes of their early childhood. Who, indeed, that has ever paused upon the top of Harbledown Hill, that he might gaze upon the valley in which Canterbury is planted,—who that has traced the silver Stour in its meanderings, now sweeping through green and open meadows, now lost amid the shade of overhanging

groves,—can ever forget either the exquisite beauty of the panorama, or the remarkable associations to which in his own mind it has given rise? And when, carried forward with the rapidity which marks the progress of modern travelling, his carriage-wheels may have rattled over the pavement of the High Street, or, still more, he has found himself unexpectedly passing under a lofty archway flanked on each hand by a tower of massive strength,—who has not fancied that such a place could not be other than the seat of loyalty and good taste, of attachment to the throne and devotion to the altar, of every feeling, in short, that dignifies the man and elevates the citizen into the rank of a Christian and a patriot? Neither will the stranger who arrives at this conclusion be very wide of his mark. Whatever may be the case now—and even now there are many true and loyal hearts within its walls,—there was a time when to no town or city in the kingdom would Canterbury yield the palm for loyalty and good faith; and as her inhabitants were not afraid to avow their principles even in seasons of more than common difficulty, so have they repeatedly endured for

principle's sake more than common anxiety and hardship.

It was on a fine, clear, frosty morning in the eventful winter of 1647, when the sun was shining bright and warm upon the coat of snow with which all the outward forms of Nature were covered, that there chanced to meet, near the entrance of Palace Street, just as the minster clock had ceased to ring out the hour of nine, two staid and venerated citizens of this ancient and opulent city. Both were somewhat stricken in years,—that is to say, both had considerably passed their prime ; and the sober cut of their brown cloaks, their tall steeple hats, and sad-coloured breeches and hosen, indicated that both were men of a religious and grave turn of mind. By neither was worn the usual accompaniment of the gentleman's dress in those days — a sword ; but each grasped in his right hand a gold-headed cane, each carried at his girdle a small Bible with silver clasps, and each had large black roses in his shoes. Moreover, their pace was slow and measured, denoting that on the minds of both lay the cares of more than common life ; while their general

bearing was that of persons who, conscious of their own importance, and fully alive to its value, are very desirous that it should not be underrated by others.

As they approached one another, these burghesses mutually offered and accepted the salutation which was agreeable to the manners of the age and the customs of the place. There was no doffing of bonnets, no bowing of heads, no light and frivolous mincing of the step,—but a full stop on both sides, a stiff inclination of the back and shoulders, followed by an immediate return to the upright position. “God be with thee, Alderman Savine!” said he whose face was towards the north; “thou art early a-foot this morning. I fear me our good city is not without its troubles; otherwise thou wouldst not face the cold air till thou hadst partaken of thy carnal comforts at noon.”

“Truly, Counsellor Lovelace,” replied the other, “thy suspicions are not altogether groundless—we have fallen upon perilous and troubled times; may we find grace to endure them!—hum;—and, in this stronghold of prelacy and popery, there is some reason to fear that, between

the sons of God and the sons of Belial there may, ere long, be strife. Knowest thou not that this is what the profane call Christmas morning?"

"Indeed, worthy Alderman," rejoined the counsellor, "I had forgotten that fact; and now that thou hast recalled it to my recollection, I cannot quite understand why strife should arise therefrom. Are not all these vanities set at nought—hath not the abomination of desolation been removed from the land?"

"To speak substantially, neighbour, thou art right; but, I know not how, since the man Charles Stuart hath been rendered up by the Scots,—they were ever a faithless people, the Scots, albeit, in this instance they may have done well,—but, as I was saying, ever since they rendered up that unhappy man into the hands of the parliament, there hath been a fierce fermentation in many quarters, which seemeth to me not unlikely to produce sour beer. Nay, I fear me there will be more than angry words in this our famous city, unless thou and I, and other godly men, interfere to prevent it; so I prithee turn back with me, and lend the aid of thy countenance to repress the tumult."

“What tumult, good alderman?” demanded the counsellor. “I have passed all the way from mine own habitation in St. Dunstan’s, yet saw I never the streets more deserted.”

“May be, may be,” replied the other impatiently, “yet I tell thee there will be strife. Didst thou not hear the great bell of the steeple house rung? and hast thou not gathered from its impure notes that there is a design among the malignants to keep this day with mummeries and masses?”

“Yea, by my troth, I did hear the great bell, just as the day began to break; and much I marvelled that there should be one within our walls so bold as even in mockery to send forth the ’larum. But I thought not of mummeries and masses, and even now it appeareth to me that thy imagination hath been too sharp for thy judgment. On what authority are thy suspicions rested?”

“Never thou pause to inquire into that, counsellor, but return with me as thou valuest the peace of the good town, and, what is more, wouldst escape the infliction of a regiment of

horse or foot, which, in case of any outbreak Lenthall will never scruple to send among us."

The counsellor, notwithstanding his firm belief that his neighbour was acting under the impression of some troubled dream, did not know how to resist an appeal thus pressingly made. He therefore consented to go back as far as the precincts ; protesting, however, that should these be in their usually deserted state, no consideration whatever should induce him to postpone his own business to any man's fantasies. But they had not proceeded many paces from the spot on which their discussion took place, ere certain phenomena occurred which tended considerably to stagger his incredulity. Not one bell, but all the bells belonging to the cathedral began to toll, while from almost every house on each side of the way poured out men, women and children, arrayed in their best attire, as if to keep holiday. By-and-by, to the utter astonishment of the counsellor, the steeples of the parish churches seemed to catch the infection. The bells rang out, as if the old religion had been in the majesty of its strength, and multi-

tudes of well-dressed persons, obeying the summons, hastened to their accustomed places of worship.

“Was there ever such madness?” exclaimed Alderman Savine, thrown completely off his guard by the excitement of the moment; “the dolts to run their heads thus against stone walls! A nice handle will be made of this up yonder. Oh, we shall have the devil to pay and no coppers, when Lambert comes with his cursed red-coats, and never a man in arms to oppose them!”

“Friend Savine,” replied the more cautious counsellor, “methinks thy talk savoureth not of the things which pertain to peace. Did I not know thee to be even as I am, I should assuredly reckon thee among the children of the Amalekites.”

“Lovelace! Lovelace!” cried the irritated alderman, “this is not a time to play either the fool or the rogue, but to exert ourselves as far as may be to avert from our misguided citizens the evils which they are labouring to bring on themselves. Run, if there be any good feeling in thee, to the mayor—he’s a sour le-

veller, but thou hast some influence with him—while I call out the town guard, and then go thou in one direction, and I in another, that we may throw ourselves between the people and those foolhardy cavaliers; for I am no true man if the people fail to interfere, in which case we shall have more broken heads than there may be plaister to heal.”

The counsellor, who, like his friend the alderman, was suspected of being at least half a royalist at heart, did not wait either to receive a repetition of these instructions, or to rebuke the worthy magistrate for the tone in which they were delivered. Away he sped to the lodgings of the mayor, with a degree of haste which in after times frequently astonished himself; while his companion, turning sharp round, rushed into St. Alphage Church, already well nigh filled in all its crevices with worshippers. The first spectacle that met his eyes was the curate standing in full canonicals in the reading-desk, and, as it seemed, making preparations to commence the service. But, before a word was uttered, the alderman, holding up his hands, required with a loud voice that he might be

heard. "Nay, worthy Mr. Chalice," cried he, "thou knowest, and ye, my fellow-citizens, know right well, that in me dwelleth no spirit of persecution. What is it to me if ye delight in a piece of white linen, or seek nutriment from a mess of sapless pottage? These things are between you and your own consciences; and were not the day of trouble and anguish nigh at hand, not by me should ye be drawn away from your profitless garbage. But bethink ye, friends, that all these abominations have been abolished by authority of parliament, and that even in this our ancient and renowned city, the power of parliament is supreme. Depart, worthy citizens, depart each of you to his own home, ere worse come of it; for assuredly, if ye persevere, there will be strife; and woe to him through whom the calamity shall be brought on!"

The alderman spoke warmly, and he was listened to for a while with great patience, for his demure deportment was a thing of very recent assumption, and his fellow-citizens gave him credit for more of prudence than of principle in the change which he judged it expedient

to make. But his advice was not followed. On the contrary, a wild cry burst from the congregation, which not only drowned his voice, but left him no reason to doubt that his arguments were quite thrown away.

“Let the roundheads come—we’re prepared for them!” shouted one. “Down with the parliament—long live the king!” cried another. “No Jack Presbyter—no canting hypocrites—the Church for ever!” exclaimed a third; while here and there expressions were used of still less dubious import. It was to no purpose that the alderman lifted up his voice and spread out his hands in order to obtain a second hearing. “Go home, old Savine,” cried several voices at once; “thou art a good fellow at bottom, albeit too much afraid of thine own hide. We would not have thee come to hurt, so go to thy mash-tubs, and leave us to bide the brunt of the storm. When the sun shines on our side of the wall, thou wilt come round again, and no one shall reject thee.”

“Nay, friends, but hear me!” exclaimed the alderman; till suddenly his eye fell upon an object which seemed at once to arrest his whole

attention. There stood upon a bench, close to the reader's desk, a young man of perhaps five-and-twenty, with a fine, fair, open English countenance, and a frame which, considerably surpassing the ordinary height, appeared capable of almost any feat, either of strength or agility. He was not shouting like the rest, neither did he exhibit any symptom of excitation, but over his features there played that sort of smile which indicates for the most part a keen sense of the ludicrous, not unmingled with a loftier feeling. It appeared, too, as if he had been watching the alderman ever since he entered the church, for as soon as the latter observed him their eyes met, and the youth nodded his head familiarly.

“What!” cried the Alderman, endeavouring to push his way through the throng, “art thou too here? Boy Joe, thou wilt never rest till thou bringest disgrace upon thyself and upon every one connected with thee. Depart, and leave this ill-assorted meeting. Go home, I say. Others may refuse to take advice, but I charge thee, as thou art my lawful nephew,—would that thou wert the nephew of anybody

else!—to obey my commands, and come forth from this devoted assembly.”

“Not one whit devoted, uncle,” replied the young man cheerfully, “except so far as we mean to devote ourselves this day to the Church’s service: ay, and we defy all the crop-ears in the place to hinder us.”

“Now, by the mother that bore me!” exclaimed the alderman,—but he had no time to conclude the sentence, for already there were heard in the street sounds of tumult, which became every instant more alarming. Yells, shouts, and cries, mixed with the tramp of many feet, told that round the building a mob was assembled. Nor did any length of time elapse, ere convincing proof was afforded of the sort of spirit by which it was actuated. Those within the church had ceased to brawl, and the clergyman was beginning to read the sentences introductory to the morning prayer, when a volley of stones came pouring through a broken window, and created great confusion. —“Down with the temple of Baal!”—“Put Baal’s worshippers to the sword.”—“Hew them in pieces before the Lord, and cast

the dust of them into the brook Cedron." Such were the extravagant cries which, passing from among the crowd, seemed to operate as signals or words of command in directing their fury: for as each was uttered, some fresh attack took place, now upon the windows, now upon the doors of the edifice. At last a cry was heard, which seemed to dispel at once the stoicism in which the church party appeared anxious to encase themselves. "Away with them, away with them; hang them up before the Lord; let them die the death." These were words of which the meaning could not be misunderstood; for those who heard them received an immediate impression that the lives of some of their friends were in danger. Now the meeting this day had taken place with a perfect conviction in the minds of such as attended it, that not without the risk of a personal collision with the puritans could the service be carried through. Therefore, the young men had agreed among themselves, that let happen what might, they would be true to one another; and that in the event of violence being offered,

by violence on their side should the attack be repelled. It was clear enough from the shouts which now fell upon their ears, mixed with the shrieks of women, that the moment for action had arrived. Accordingly young Savine started to his feet.

“Follow me, brothers,” was his brief address. “They are murdering our friends without, and we have no business here. Follow me, and let us to the rescue.”

There was not a single sword in the church, for it formed part of the plan to leave such weapons behind; but as the young men sprang up to obey their leader, each drew from beneath his cloak a stout bludgeon, which he brandished in his right hand. It was to no purpose that Alderman Savine again threw himself in the way. He was swept aside like a feather, while forth from the great door rushed about a hundred and fifty youths, each resolute to do his best, and glad of the opportunity of striking a blow. For the outrage offered that day to the religion of their fathers was not new. The respectable citizens had been repeatedly in-

sulted when going about a duty which from their childhood was dear to them, and, though they had borne with the wrong patiently enough for a while, their patience became at length exhausted. Forth, therefore, they rushed, each eager to do his best; and in five seconds the street became the scene of an affray such as it would defy the power of ordinary language to describe. Young Savine's suspicions were not, it appeared, unfounded. The mob had seized several persons, whom they were treating very roughly when the furious charge from the church-door, gave a novel turn to affairs; and clubs, and bats, and fists came into collision, while the captives escaped. Many a broken head and bloody nose bore witness to the zeal with which the rufflers laid about them; and the crowd, broken and dispersed in all directions, made it manifest how the victory had gone.

It is a matter of history that there was in Canterbury that day a very serious tumult; that the mayor, instead of exerting his authority to allay men's passions, did his best to inflame them; that being, as Alderman Savine

described him, a sour puritan, he railed loudly against surplice and hood, leaving the combatants to fight or flee at will ; that he went about ordering the tradespeople to open their shops, and otherwise to desecrate the festival, which was to him an abomination. Nay, it is even told of him, that being remonstrated with by a royalist cutler, he smote the man of forks and scissors in the face, and otherwise so deported himself, as to cause that which began in a mere ebullition of popular feeling, to end in something not far removed from a political movement. For the churchmen, deserted by the legal authorities, took the matter of self-defence into their own hands, and, muskets and pistols being by and by produced on the opposite side, they too stood to their weapons. The result was, that several lives were lost ; that the puritanical faction sustained a signal defeat ; that the city guards were either disarmed, or joined the episcopalians ; and that the arsenal was taken possession of. Finally, when darkness set in, parties of armed men patrolled the streets, and guards were regularly mounted at the city gates ; while there were not

wanting voices, which from time to time cried aloud, "Long live King Charles !" But I must not dwell upon matters which would carry me far beyond my proper limits ; so I here bring my chapter to its close.

CHAPTER II.

Showing how the royalists of Kent began to muster.

As I am not now writing either a history of the Kentish insurrection, or a tale founded on the progress of that remarkable movement, my reader must be content to overleap with me a period of nearly five months, during which events had occurred affecting the interests both of the public and of individuals to a degree which, in these times of peaceful agitation and passive resistance, we should find it hard to conceive. In Canterbury, Alderman Savine and his friend Counsellor Lovelace, having called in the assistance of Sir Horace Mann, contrived, by pledging themselves that no hurt should come to any one on account of the part which he had played in the Christmas-day riot, to restore order. But the pledge thus kindly

given, was not only disregarded in the gross, by the marching of a regiment of foot into the city, but the very men who had succeeded in re-establishing the authority of the parliament, became the first victims of the parliament's jealousy. They were arrested, together with others of inferior rank, and committed to Leeds Castle, where, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, and very scurvily treated by their gaolers, they spent some time in close confinement. They were then formally arraigned on a charge of fomenting a rebellion, and brought to trial in the place where their offence was asserted to have been committed. But in calculating on the docility of a Kentish jury, the friends of the usurpation had erred. Twelve good men and true refused, in defiance of a judge's charge, to return a verdict of guilty, and for once the blood of individuals obnoxious to the ruling powers was not poured out.

Meanwhile throughout the whole of Kent, from Eltham and Dartford, down to Romney Marsh and the Isle of Thanet, there arose a strong feeling in favour of the ill-used monarch. The same grand jury which had returned a bill of

ignoramus in reference to Alderman Savine and his friends, drew up a petition to the two houses of parliament, in which they required that the king should be restored to the exercise of his just rights, and the ancient constitution in church and state re-established. The petition was not only denounced as inflammatory and seditious, but the Committee of Safety received instructions to hinder its presentation; while a few troops of horse marched out of Westminster, and took up their quarters at Gravesend. But the spirit of the men of Kent was not to be put down. Large meetings were held on Barham Downs and elsewhere, armed associations were entered into, and a second address to the two houses was voted, many degrees more spirited than the first. Finally, one regiment of infantry and another of cavalry having been enrolled, a protest was circulated through the county, and the determination of such as signed it avowed, of forcing their way to London, in case they should be opposed, with the petition in one hand, and their swords in the other.

It is not my business to describe how this

insurrection was brought about, to what enterprises it led, or by what means it was fostered. The mutiny in the fleet tended much, as is well known, to mature it; and the extraordinary zeal of such men as Hammond, Hatton, and one or two besides, enabled those who embarked with them in the same cause, to overcome all obstacles. They drew to a head at length in force, and securing Canterbury, they marched upon Sandwich, of which, after some little delay, they obtained possession. The next attempt was upon Dover Castle, which proved too strong for them, though in the town they had many friends; so they left it in a state of blockade, and pushed for Walmer, Deal, and Sandown, all of which fortresses opened their gates. Then followed a series of operations, of which the grand results were to render the cavaliers masters of the whole county, as far as the Medway, and to force back upon London the detachments which had been sent out, as well as the most zealous, and therefore the most obnoxious of the parliament's friends. Yet it is worthy of remark, that all this was brought about without any communication

with the heads of the king's party in London. Neither the Earl of Holland, nor the Duke of Buckingham, nor the Earl of Peterborough, nor any others of the chiefs, who held at this time frequent and undisguised consultations concerning the king's affairs, was aware of the spirit that prevailed in Kent, till the county was in arms; and when they did come to a knowledge of the truth, they scarce knew how to deal with it. As it is with the issue of this enterprise that my tale is mainly concerned, I shall at once set my reader down in such a situation as may enable him to obtain of it at least a tolerably accurate survey.

The Minster clock had struck nine. It was a fine clear balmy morning, and the season being an early one, the horse-chesnuts which surround St. Stephen's Green, were all in full bloom; the silver Stour poured his waters peacefully along, and from time to time in his deep pools and lins the trout were leaping, when three persons emerged from the back-door of a house, which, close to the St. Stephen's road, still occupies, though in a somewhat altered form, its original position. The persons in question were, an

elderly man, of a grave and settled aspect, and a very peaceful demeanour ; a beautiful girl apparently about eighteen years of age, and a young man arrayed in buff and bandoleer, with an iron cap or helmet on his head, and a huge broad sword by his side. The girl walked between her male friends, and lent affectionately, as it seemed, on both their arms ; though her fine hazel eye was turned chiefly towards the countenance of the younger man, who gazed on her tenderly. And though they did not speak, he must have been a very careless observer indeed who would have failed to surmise, that some strong tie of kindred or affection was between them. In fact, the individuals composing this little group, appeared to be equally affected by melancholy ; for they strolled on, with a slow and unsteady pace, in silence.

Passing across a gravelled terrace, and traversing a long straight turf walk, on either side of which were flower-beds laid out in all manner of fantastic shapes, the three friends made their way towards a green bank, by the edge of which the river flowed, with a soft and

tinkling noise. There they sat down, being sheltered from the public gaze by a high wall, which interposed between them and St. Stephen's Green, and there for a minute or two their silence continued unbroken. But theirs was manifestly a situation over which strong feelings exercised an influence, and where feeling is strong it will not always be withheld from finding utterance. The old man was the first to speak.

“Woe worth these evil and unhappy times, and woe to the restless and ambitious spirits whom they have produced ! How are domestic quiet, and rational liberty, and freedom of conscience sacrificed, that the beggar may rise from the dunghill, where he was born, and take his place among princes. Oh unhappy and misguided monarch ! much evil have thy mistaken views of prerogative and kingly right brought upon thyself and upon thy people. From the pinnacle to the foundation the great building of the state is ruined ; and what right have we, poor citizens of a mean city, to expect that we shall go without our troubles ? Yet I reared this orphan lad tenderly ; I re-

garded him as the last of his race; and I hoped to perpetuate mine own name, and that of my beloved brother, by giving this my sole and darling child to be his wife. And now all these dreams are ended; and he goeth forth like a doomed man to the battle, fighting for a cause which shall not prosper; for the Lord hath pronounced judgment against it."

"It's no use grieving, uncle," replied the young man. "What must be must. The dice are cast, and we can but abide the issue of the throw; and as to complaining of the times, and denouncing those who mould them to their own purposes, credit me, there is no more profitless employment, nor any that brings with it less satisfaction. Give me thy blessing, dear uncle, and accept all that I have to offer in return; my best and warmest thanks for that unvarying kindness which has treated me, a portionless child, thrown wholly on thy bounty, as if I had been thine own. Give me thy blessing, dear uncle, and let me go. And you, Harriet, one kiss.—If we meet again, and meet in peace—Nay, do not weep, dear girl. Not in tears ought these last and precious mo-

ments to be spent, but in considering that in God's hands are the issues of the future; and that though appearances be against us now, He who ever upholds the right, may, even in despite of our own follies and imprudences, give prosperity to the cause in which we are embarked. One kiss, Harriet, here in thy father's presence, and then farewell!"

"Oh! not yet, not yet," cried the poor girl, dissolved into tears; "my father has much to say to you, and I too would fain try the force of a last appeal, even though I may hope little from thy obstinacy. Joe, thou hast thyself admitted that the cause is ruined; thou hast said that all chance of success is taken away—why then go farther in this business—why not withdraw even now, ere a blow has been struck, while my father may have it in his power to ensure thy freedom. Joe, do not leave us!"

"Harriet," replied the young man in a deep but settled tone, "thou knowest that when I pass beyond these gates, all that I love on earth will have been left behind. But not even for thy sake would I now refuse to share my comrades' fate, be it for good or for evil. Rashly

we may have heretofore acted—without counsel we may still act, and over our heads certain destruction may be hanging : but we have taken our ground, and we must keep it till the last shot has been fired, and the last blow has fallen. No, Harriet, I should be contemptible in mine own eyes, and utterly unworthy of thy esteem, were I to listen to entreaties which come not, I am sure, from the heart, but originate in a disordered fancy and the feeling of the moment.”

“ Yet it had been well, Joe,” interposed the alderman, “ hadst thou never cast in thy lot with them. We got thee out of the Canterbury scrape with difficulty, on the distinct understanding that at least thou wouldst be quiet ; yet no sooner was the king’s standard hoisted, than thou must needs join it. And under such a leader too ! Why, man, were there twenty thousand of you,—as I warrant me there are not seven,—how could ye expect to prevail, being, as ye are, under the management of a giddy boy ? ”

“ So far, uncle, you are mistaken,” answered Joe ; “ Hales is our general no longer. When the plot began to thicken, and difficulties to

increase, he discovered, poor fellow, that he had no talent for command; and his friend L'Estrange has long fallen into disrepute with the whole of us. Hales quitted the army two days ago; his grandfather, I believe, had threatened to disinherit him, and his wife's mother was furious; so he made a merit of necessity, and resigned, after having, as he said, brought the insurrection to such a point, that there needed but a stout heart to carry it through. Hales is now, I believe, at his own home, and Lord Norwich acts as general."

"Lord Norwich is a noble fellow, winning and popular in his manners, a jovial companion over the bottle, and brave as his own sword; but as far as the talent for command is concerned, I doubt whether ye have exchanged leaders for the better. And what if ye do succeed? Are we to have back again our courts of Star Chamber and Commission? Is the throne to be rebuilt upon the ruins of public liberty?"

"No, Sir," answered Joe, "nothing of the sort. Humble as my station in the army may be, I know enough of the spirit that pervades its ranks to testify, that for such an object not

a man among us would wield a sword. We are in arms simply because the little finger of the parliament has proved thicker than the king's loins; and if we succeed, it is our determination to reduce the power of both to its proper limits. But this is not the season for such discussion; so once more your blessing, dear uncle, and then I go in peace."

"Thou hast it, Joe. May He who covered the psalmist's head in the day of battle, cover thine alway, and send thee back, whether victorious or defeated, to be the prop of thine uncle in his declining years, and the protector of thy cousin when I am taken away from her!"

The young man took off his helmet and bent his head, while his relative laid his hands solemnly upon his brow, and pronounced this blessing. He then rose, and receiving in his embrace the fragile form which threw itself in a passion of grief into his arms, kissed the cheek and lips of his beautiful cousin, and pressed her to his heart. No further conversation passed between them. They were too much affected to speak; but Joe, gently disengaging himself, laid the half-fainting girl upon her father's neck,

and hurried away. He did not once pause to look behind, but passing through the house, flung himself on the back of a powerful charger which a lad was leading backwards and forwards in the lane, and set off at a furious pace in the direction of Sittingbourne.

CHAPTER III.

*How the plot thickened, and the cavalier pursued
his journey.*

WITH a heavy, yet not a fearful heart, Joe Savine pursued his journey, his pace gradually slackening, as his composure returned and thoughts of the future began to mix themselves up with the memory of the past. The tone of his conversation in the garden may have sufficed to prove, that though in arms as a royalist, Joe was little sanguine of success; while his education had not been of such a nature as to imbue him either with extravagant notions of loyalty, or a belief in the superior valour and conduct of the men who professed loyal principles. His personal history, as far as I have been able to trace it, was this: Joe Savine was the only child of his father, the elder brother of the alderman. His mother died when she

brought him into the world ; and his father did not long survive the event, for his affairs went wrong, and, being unable to endure the change in his condition, he destroyed himself. Joe's father, it appeared, was many years older than the alderman, whom he had materially assisted to establish in business, and who was devotedly attached to him. When, therefore, the little orphan came into his uncle's family, he experienced no change of treatment from that which had previously been awarded him, being brought up to regard himself as the son of his protector, and the heir, if not to his savings, at all events to his flourishing business.

Like his brother, Alderman Savine became a widower on the same day which made him a father ; but there was this difference in their fate, that the alderman lived to watch over the ripening beauties of his daughter, and to rejoice in them when they were ripened. And in truth Harriet Savine was a girl of whom any father might be proud. Beautiful she was, both in form and face, more beautiful still in temper and disposition,—a happy creature, whom Nature seemed to have formed for the purpose of

diffusing happiness around her. Nor was there in East Kent a little family more justly content with their position than that of which she was a member. The alderman, a careful and industrious man, found his means accumulate from day to day. He was a brewer on a large scale; and even in the seventeenth century the citizens of Canterbury held good beer in its proper estimation. Moreover, he had a mill, which ground the chief portion of the flour that was consumed in the neighbourhood; and he built himself a snug house beside the mill-race, where he dwelt. Thus, with the wind steady in his stern, he pursued his voyage through life till his nephew had grown almost to man's estate, and his daughter was old enough to sit at the head of his table, and to exhibit a growing attachment for her cousin, which the young man fully returned.

Alderman Savine, though in heart a royalist, was too cautious to take any decided part in the dispute, which first of all split the society of England into angry factions, and then arranged these factions one against another in civil strife. It was his business, and his policy, to preserve,

as far as possible, concord at home; and he succeeded to such an extent, that not till the recent tumult had the peace of the city, of which he soon became a leading magistrate, been disturbed. No doubt there were in Canterbury persons who called themselves cavaliers and roundheads, and it is equally true that individuals belonging to both factions buckled on their swords and went forth. But within the walls of the city there were no hostile movements—the alderman holding it as a maxim worthy of universal acceptance, that it was a wise thing to pay obedience to the powers that be. The consequence was, that while the royalists believed that he would never do them an injury, their rivals gave him credit for keeping the place quiet, and shut their eyes at various irregularities of speech and conduct of which, according to their narrow views of things, the good man was guilty.

Joe Savine was trained by his uncle to hold the same convenient opinions in political matters which he held himself; but the instruction, however zealously communicated, produced but half the results expected. It was not very easy

to curb a temper naturally sanguine, or to hinder that which was at first a mere prejudice from growing into a principle; for Joe was even from his infancy a royalist, and continued so to the end. But this much at least was accomplished;—he gave to the questions which then agitated the public mind more attention than was usually bestowed upon them, and came forth from the enquiry what we should now describe as a steady friend to a limited monarchy. It is probable, indeed, that but for the tumult on Christmas-day—an explosion which occurred not suddenly and without previous maturing—he would have walked in his uncle's steps, and succeeded to his brewery and civic honours. But Joe was a sincere disciple of the Church of England, and, like others in the metropolitan city, had suffered frequent outrage while seeking to worship God after the manner of his fathers. Heartily, therefore, he entered into a scheme which, according to his belief, had no other object in view than to secure to churchmen the same liberty of conscience which every fanatic claimed, but the working out of which, like that of many other de-

vices, took a far wider range than its contrivers intended it to have. The Christmas-day tumult in Canterbury led, indeed, to the arrest of many persons—the arrest of those persons brought on a trial—the trial produced a verdict of acquittal, and the acquittal called forth the famous petition, on which all after proceedings were grounded; and as Joe had narrowly escaped his uncle's imprisonment, and longed to avenge his uncle's wrongs, he was one of the first to append his name to the list of persons by whom the remonstrance was subscribed. Finally, when others began to arm, he would not be restrained; and now, having borne his part elsewhere, he was returning from a week's leave to Rochester, where the royalists lay in force, under the command of the Earl of Norwich, and in daily expectation of a battle.

Joe dashed from the door of his uncle's house with the impetuosity of one who labours under violent excitement, and strove to forget, in extreme rapidity of movement, the personal cares and anxieties which afflicted him. As has already been mentioned, he gradually succeeded in this effort; and, conquering those softer

emotions which to one in his circumstances were both natural and unavoidable, he began to turn his thoughts into a different channel. He reviewed the past and speculated respecting the future, and became as little satisfied with the prospects that were before, as with the scenes which he had left behind him. When he quitted the army, there prevailed nothing like a fixed plan among its leaders, and Joe filled a situation which enabled him to ascertain that fact fully. Though he bore no commission, his influence with the Canterbury troop was such as to place him on a familiar footing with the officers, and his knowledge of the country, as well as his general intelligence and courage, soon brought him into contact with the heads of departments. If orders were to be conveyed from one point to another which it required more than common address to convey, Joe was sure to be employed; and he never failed to manage matters so well, that by degrees a greater and a greater degree of confidence was extended to him. For in those troublesome times, when no man knew where to expect an enemy, it would have been exceed-

ingly inconvenient to commit to writing delicate communications from one chief to another ; so that he who came to be esteemed a trustworthy messenger came also to be treated as a confidant by such as made use of him. Hence Joe was, perhaps, as well acquainted with the real state of the Kentish insurrection as any individual engaged in it ; and it cannot be said that the glances which he was, from time to time, permitted to cast behind the scenes, had the effect of increasing his confidence touching the issue.

It was Joe's intention to reach Chatham that night, between which and the adjoining city of Rochester he had left the army in quarters ; and as the distance to be traversed fell somewhat short of thirty miles, there was in the way no natural obstacle which he might not calculate on surmounting. He purposed likewise, by dealing fairly by his horse, by baiting at a convenient interval, and moving throughout at an easy pace, to carry him in fresh and fit for work, being well aware that nobody could tell how soon the mettle both of men and horses was likely to be put to the test. But he had not ridden far ere certain accidents befell, which

threatened to interfere with those intentions. There was at that time no village—there was scarcely a solitary habitation—between Harbledown and Faversham. A huge forest, of which the remains still continue, covered the entire face of the country, and the road that traversed it was both rough and narrow—now scaling the brow of a steep hill—now passing sheer and abrupt into a valley. Joe was deep in the heart of King's Wood when his horse cast a shoe, and he found it necessary, in order to save the animal as much as possible, to dismount. Now, a trooper of the middle of the seventeenth century, in his cuirass and huge jack-boots, was not exactly the sort of personage to whom a progress on foot could be acceptable; indeed few would have thought of venturing upon such a service at all. But Joe Savine loved his horse too well, and put too just an estimate on his importance, not to encounter for his sake a more arduous trial. On, therefore, he trudged, taking care so to lead the animal that his footing might be, as much as possible, on the turf, while he himself took from time to time

the precaution to ascertain that no additional damage had been done to the hoof. His progress was of course very slow, and the fatigue of walking proved excessive, for the day chanced to be unusually sultry, and there was not a breath of air stirring to relieve it. Still he continued to press forward, till a sharp flint struck suddenly into the tender part of the foot, and the poor beast shrank and reeled, and became dead lame.

“A murrain take the smith that shod thee, and the clumsy hand that put this flint stone in thy way!” cried Joe, perceiving that his horse was rendered totally unserviceable. “A pretty scrape is this into which I have run. Here am I a score of miles and more from my quarters, with a lame horse and a pass that expires at six o’clock in the evening, and never a human habitation in sight, where one might look for aid in the hour of need. Zounds! ’twere better I had taken Harriet’s advice, and staid at home altogether, for to-morrow they move upon London; and Fairfax is near enough, I know, to find them in work ere they get far on the way.

If I fail to join them before they come to blows, it may be difficult to make them believe that my absence was not intentional."

He looked anxiously round him as he gave utterance to this soliloquy, and saw—or imagined that he saw—a wreath of blue smoke curl up from the bottom of a ravine at no great distance from the road side. There was a convenient bough at hand, over which he threw his horse's bridle; then gathering up his huge broad sword under his arm, he began to push through the underwood. He was soon at the edge of the ravine, where he found himself in such a position that without being personally liable to observation, he could command a full view of all that might pass beneath. There was a fire burning in the hollow, around which half a dozen armed men were collected, while at a stone's-throw apart from them six horses were picketed, one of which appeared to be an animal of great power and beauty. The curiosity of Joe was excited by what he witnessed. It did not fail to strike him, too, that the party in the ravine were in very earnest conversation; and with a pardonable curiosity

he determined, if possible, to make himself acquainted with the subject of their discussion.

Joe had a soldier's eye, and was therefore quick to observe that a brief *détour* to the right would carry him into a ravine at right angles with that on which he was now gazing, and that by creeping along its edge he might approach within ear-shot of the strangers, without exposing himself to their notice. He withdrew, therefore, as he had advanced, with great caution, and following what seemed the bed of a dried-up rivulet, or water-course, was soon in a position still more favourable to his purposes than he had anticipated. Between him and the strangers there was, indeed, but a narrow ledge of soil, overgrown at the summit with thick bushes. This he carefully ascended, dragging himself upon his belly, and holding on by the roots of a tall tree that grew out of the side of the mound, till he had gained the ridge, and was enabled to look down upon the fire and those who sat round it. They wore no badge, consequently might be either friends or foes, but he saw that they were stout men, and well accoutred with buff-coats and bandoleers, while their

long carabines, piled up against the stem of an oak, showed that they were prepared to fight at a distance, not less than hand to hand. Moreover, two appeared to be of a rank superior to the rest, for they sat apart and held converse exclusively with one another. In all this Joe discovered only an additional motive for caution. Give him fair play, and he imagined that he should have little to fear, because if his hand were unequal to protect his head, he might match himself, in speed of foot, with persons so cumbrously accoutred. But leaden bullets travel very fast, and Joe had no particular fancy to be pursued by them. He therefore moved aside the foliage with as much tenderness as if he had been brushing the wing of a butterfly, and applied both eye and ear to crevices as narrow as would permit each to exercise their respective functions.

“ We are well out of the scrape, Ditchley,” said one of the troopers to another. “ The bubble has burst, you may rely upon it. Lord Thane’s desertion ruins all in West Kent ; and at Rochester they seem to be at sixes and sevens among themselves. I doubt whether Norwich

will have a thousand men left by to-morrow at this time."

"Yet I had my scruples in abandoning them too," replied he to whom the first speaker addressed himself. "My heart was in the cause, and had I seen even a chance of success, my hand would have struck a blow for it likewise. But I believe you are right. The thing is hopeless; and they are the wisest men who soonest withdraw from it. What are your intentions? whither mean ye to go?"

"I am for France," replied the first speaker. "Depend upon it, there will be strict search after malignants; and he who is known to have taken up arms, no matter how innocently, will be treated with as much harshness as his comrade that used them. The parliament has been too much frightened this bout, to forgive the authors of their terror."

"Is it certain that Fairfax is on the move?"

"You know the authority on which my conviction rests, and you are aware how lightly my remonstrance was treated at head-quarters. He will cut them up in detail, you may rely upon it; and that ere they credit their danger."

“You said that he proposed to attack our people in Maidstone to-night.”

“I did so; and I told Hatton of the fact; but either the old fellow disbelieved me, or he was too much occupied with schemes of his own to pay attention. I am sorry for them, too; they will be cut off to a man.”

Joe was much struck with the conversation to which he had so strangely become a listener. He gathered from it, indeed, that the speakers were not enemies, however faithless and fickle they might be as friends; and it gave him just so much insight into the situation of the army, as to create an irresistible inclination to acquire more. He determined, after an instant's deliberation, to show himself; and if he could not prevail upon the deserters to return to their colours, at least to obtain from them all the information of which they might be possessed. There was, doubtless, some personal risk in this act; but Joe cared not for that. So he let himself quietly down into the dry water-course; and clearing the elbow of the little height, stood before the strangers. They sprang to their feet, grasped their weapons, and demand-

ed his business. Joe told them. He told them also that he had played the eavesdropper, and entreated them to clear up the doubts and misgivings that had rushed upon his mind.

There was no reluctance on their parts to comply with his wishes. Like himself, they had followed the king's standard at the outset zealously; but recent events had revived in them a quality which is ever an enemy to valour, particularly when the cause which may have appeared at first to flourish, begins to grow desperate. Nay more: while they positively refused to return, they advised him to adopt an expedient which was already in general use, and to provide, while yet the opportunity offered, for his own safety. Finally, they explained to him the circumstances attending Lord Thane's defection, the unskilful manner in which Norwich had disposed of his troops, and that nothing short of a miracle could save from destruction the whole army.

Joe heard them out.

"You will not then go back with me, and warn the general of his danger," said he.

"Go back we never will," replied the de-

serters in one breath ; “ and as to warning, depend upon it that would now come too late. Norwich has let slip his hour of grace, and nothing will save him.”

“ Well, then, do me at least this kindness,” answered Joe. “ My horse has cast his shoe. Bating that accident, I would not accept the best pair that I see yonder in exchange for him. Let me leave him with you, and give me one of yours, by which means I shall be able to continue my journey. The love you once bore these doomed men must lead you to desire their preservation. I will warn them yet once more, if you will furnish me with the means.”

Joe’s proposal was agreed to ; upon which he selected out of the six the animal which appeared to be the best, and sprang upon its back. It was fresh and newly baited, and appeared full of life and spirit. A brief salutation at parting was all that followed ; for Joe soon regained the road, and he did not spare his new charger in pursuing it.

CHAPTER IV.

Showing how the cavaliers fought and suffered.

WHATEVER might have been the nature of Joe's personal feelings when he began his journey in the morning, these ceased, so soon as he had held his interview with the deserters, to hold over him the slightest dominion. His whole soul was thenceforth engrossed with considerations of a weightier nature ; with speculations concerning the state of his party, and the condition and prosperity of his fellow soldiers, in reference to the great struggle which could not be far distant. Were they aware of the real nature of their position ? and if so, had they made dispositions to grapple with it ? These were the thoughts which crowded into his mind, bringing with them no common load of anxiety ; while with a frequent application of

the spurs he urged his new charger to fresh exertions as often as he began to slacken his pace, and exhibit other symptoms of weariness. Nor, to say the truth, were other evidences wanting of the growing unpopularity of the king's cause. The nearer he approached to the quarters of the army, the greater was the multitude of stragglers that met him ; few of whom admitted that they had abandoned their colours, though the faces of all were turned in a direction where no royal standard waved.

Joe was by far too anxious to think of his own wants, or of the wants of the animal that bore him. He never drew bit till he reached the brow of the hill, in the valley beneath which lie the three towns, overcanopied even then, though in a less degree than now, by a perpetual cloud of smoke. His horse, covered with foam, and labouring for breath, reeled beneath the rider, who, supporting him with the bridle, had used the spur without mercy, when suddenly there crowned the height a brilliant cortege of officers, among whom Joe recognized the Earl of Norwich, with many more of his personal acquaintances. The young man pulled

up, and awaited their approach. The distressed state of his charger attracted their attention, and more than one seemed anxious to enquire the cause why he had ridden so furiously; but Joe declined answering their questions. He rode directly to the commander-in-chief, with whom, after respectfully saluting him, he entered into a long, and, as it seemed, serious conference.

Lord Norwich's attendants, as in duty bound, kept aloof during the progress of the interview, which terminated at last in a manner not a little calculated to sharpen their vigilance and excite their surprise. The general, dismounting, gave his horse, with all its gorgeous trappings, to the stranger, who quitting his own jaded beast, sprang into the saddle, and galloped off. My authorities do not enable me to state how the staff conducted themselves on the occasion. Doubtless they did, as in a like situation others would have done, put to each other questions which nobody could answer; while, following their chief, they suddenly faced about, and returned to the town, whence they had recently emerged. But, however this may

be, Joe neither paused to watch their proceedings, nor wasted a thought upon them. Away he sped, as fast as his horse's heels could carry him, in the direction of Maidstone. And time it was, that he, or some other intelligent messenger, should take this route ; for the day was already far spent, and should he fail to reach the place of his destination ere night, it was more than probable that his arrival would come too late.

On sped Joe, regardless both of highways and byeways ; for the whole face of the country was familiar to him, and he rode a horse to whose progress neither hedge nor ditch offered any serious obstacle. Keeping the river on his right, and dashing through corn-fields and over downs, he did his best to narrow the distance, hoping, almost in the teeth of hope, that he might reach his goal before the twilight, which was fast deepening, should have closed in. But there are limits to human exertions, and Joe found that even his could not pass them. The sun was setting when he halted on the hill above Chatham ; the evening star had risen ere he turned his face to the south ; and long before the

lights in Maidstone glared under his eye, the worst fears that had agitated him during his progress were realised.

There came back upon the wind a sound of firing, broken indeed, and scattered, as if the outposts of two armies were engaged, but sufficiently rapid to make the listener aware that the detachment of the king's troops which occupied the place was about to sustain an attack. Joe insensibly slackened his pace, and, dashing his hands together, gave utterance only to this ejaculation: "It is too late!"

That my reader may understand why the hero of this tale should have been so much affected by what he heard at that moment, it will be necessary to remind him of the relative positions of the royal and parliamentary forces at the time. When the Kentish insurrection first broke out, neither the friends nor the foes of monarchy counted greatly upon it. The former, uninformed of any intention to move, would scarcely credit that a movement had taken place—the latter, thinking lightly of the spirit of men who had not heretofore taken any prominent part in the civil war, flattered themselves that

they would be suppressed without difficulty. When, however, the snowball enlarged itself from day to day—when their own friends fled to them for protection, and their detachments of horse were driven in, the Commons perceived that it was high time to deal with the insurrection as with a thing of importance, and they commissioned Fairfax, at the head of a powerful and well-disciplined army, to restore peace to the troubled outskirts of London. Fairfax hastened to obey the orders of his masters, and crossed London Bridge much about the same time that General Hales gave up his command to Lord Norwich. But there was this striking difference between the characters of the two men, that while the one would neither take rest himself, nor suffer those under his charge to repose, till the object which he had been appointed to effect should have been accomplished, the other seemed willing to enjoy himself, and to make others happy, even on the brink of a volcano. Nobody has ever called in question the bravery of Goring; but of his capacity to command a force which, from its very nature, if not perpetually pressing forward, could not fail of

falling to pieces, the most ignorant in such matters may, without presumption, judge. The troops which Norwich commanded consisted of the gentry and yeomanry of Kent, with their servants and personal retainers. They were well armed, and amounted in all to about seven thousand men ; and had they pushed upon London, while the panic there was at its height, it would be a rash thing to say that they could not have succeeded. But Norwich, instead of marching upon the metropolis, talked of defending the course of the Medway, a river which is fordable in twenty places, even below Maidstone, and which, had the contrary been the case, could not be observed by a force ten times greater in amount than that of which he was at the head. Nor is this all : instead of keeping his little corps well in hand, he permitted the men to straggle in search of quarters, stationing in Maidstone a brigade of a thousand men, while the rest occupied, in the worst possible manner, Rochester and the places near. Such a disposition, in the face of a skilful officer like Fairfax, was unwise in the extreme ; and the laxity of discipline which it created in his own camp

proved fatal. The men, separated from their officers, soon began to grow tired of soldiering, and by whole sections stole away, and returned to their homes.

When Joe Savine met his general, as has been described a short time ago, he communicated to him the substance of the conversation which he had held with the deserters in King's Wood. To his inexpressible astonishment he found, that few of the statements which he made were not already within Lord Norwich's cognizance. Of the disaffection of Lord Thanet the Earl was already aware; and he knew that Fairfax was moving. But till Joe Savine suggested that in all probability Maidstone would be the first point of attack, the necessity of uniting his army seems never to have struck him. Now, however, there came upon him a conviction that his dispositions had hitherto been faulty; and Joe was instructed to convey to the officer in command an immediate order of retreat. And as orders issued under the pressure of sudden alarm are for the most part precipitate, Lord Norwich gave his with the tone of one who believes that life and death are on

the dice. Hence Joe's anxiety to prevent the night, as if it had been quite a settled thing that by night, and not by day, Fairfax would attack. Hence the urgency of the general's command that Joe would use all diligence, which the latter, as has just been related, took care to obey; and hence too the extreme anxiety of the messenger, when his ears were first saluted with the sounds of battle. For it immediately occurred to him that the place was attacked, and that a retreat, if now undertaken at all, must of necessity be both confused and disastrous. Still he had a duty to perform, and he would not neglect it. Having mastered his feelings, he again pushed forward, and in a short time his horse's hoofs rang on the paved streets of the town.

When he entered Maidstone the sound of firing had ceased. The deserted state of the streets, indeed, to the north and east of the town, informed him that the garrison must have been called away in an opposite direction, and that fear, or some worse feeling, kept the inhabitants within doors; but, except in this particular, no symptoms were manifested of the progress of hostilities. He was willing, therefore,

to flatter himself that there had been some false alarm at the outposts; and that he might yet be in time to withdraw in good order a corps which, if left much longer where it was, must be cut off. But he was not long permitted to indulge this happy delusion. Just as he was turning the corner of Market-street, a mounted officer met him, whom he requested to conduct him to the commandant's quarters.

"The commandant lives at the mayor's house, which you will easily discover by inquiring for it. I cannot stop to be your guide," was the answer.

"I bring him orders from Lord Norwich," replied Joe.

"Aha!" answered the officer, "I was on my way to demand them. We have met in good time. I will conduct you to head-quarters."

He turned his horse round as he spoke, and they rode together up High-street. But they had not proceeded many paces ere a furious discharge of musketry warned them that the play was begun.

"Is there any support at hand?" demanded the officer.

“I fear not,” replied Joe. “My instructions were to move you off with as little delay as possible; and to unite you with the main body at Rochester.”

“Then you come too late, friend,” was the reply. “Our advanced posts were driven in just before dark; the enemy have won the bridge, and nothing remains for us now but to maintain the town till Norwich shall send or come to relieve us. Hark! the struggle waxes warm.”

And it did wax warm. The firing which had at first been sharp, but of limited extent, seemed now to spread itself over a widely-extended surface. Every street and lane from the left bank of the Medway to the extremity of the town appeared to be contested, while the shouts that from time to time arose, as here and there a momentary lull took place, told of some furious onset at push of pike as furiously resisted.

“O that you had reached us four-and-twenty hours sooner!” exclaimed Joe’s guide. But both the speaker and he to whom he addressed himself knew that this was not the moment for regret; so they struck the rowels into

their horses' flanks, and were soon in the midst of the *mélée*.

Joe and his guide advanced along High-street. It was narrow, flanked on either hand with high houses, and had, late in the day, been stoutly barricaded at its extremity with wagons, barrels filled with earth, and piles of stones. One of the barricades was by this time carried; and the young men met its defenders retreating in disorder towards the market-place. "Courage, my lads! courage!" shouted Joe. "Stand to it like men. The whole army is supporting you. Hark! don't you hear the clatter of horses' feet on the pavement?" The fugitives saw that that he who spoke was a stranger. They therefore believed his assurance, and turned furiously to bay; and so desperate was their onset, that Fairfax's people, veterans as they were, could not withstand it. They were borne back beyond the barricade, and once more in this direction was the battle that of musketeers against musketeers.

The promise of support which Joe had given to the handful of brave men in Maidstone, was destined, contrary to his expectation, to be fulfilled.

Norwich, with the customary weakness of one incapable of directing the movements of an army, would not move with his whole force to bring off the threatened division, but detached eight hundred horse, a number totally inadequate to carry effectual relief, should it be wanted, yet sufficiently large to swell, fatally for himself, the amount of his own casualties. These gallant fellows reached the town just as the round-heads had established themselves in its outskirts, and by a resolute charge drove them back beyond the farthest barricade. But the odds were fearfully against them. Nine thousand men, inured to battle, took it by turns to wage the attack; whereas, after the arrival of these jaded succours, there were but two thousand in all to sustain and repel them. The result is well known, and could not for a moment have been doubtful. Beaten from their first defences, the men of Kent fought valiantly from house to house. They sold their lives very dearly; indeed, there were moments when even Fairfax hesitated, while his best and bravest troops fell by sections around him. But wave after wave came up, the reserves taking the sta-

tions of those who had been roughly handled, till at last the market-place was won, and all beyond it in possession of the assailants. One point, however, was still maintained with inflexible gallantry. The officer in command, followed by about three hundred men, threw himself into the church, whence the utmost efforts of the enemy could not throughout the night dislodge him. At last, however, morning dawned; and the total wreck of the king's cause, as far as it depended on the defence of Maidstone, became evident. The streets were crowded with dead bodies; the republicans were everywhere the victors; and the king's general accepted a capitulation, and laid down his arms.

CHAPTER V.

Showing how the insurrection ended, and what was its effect on the cavaliers' fortunes.

IT was on the evening of the second day after the fatal battle of Maidstone, that Alderman Savine and his daughter walked forth to take the air, and to converse, as they went, on topics which engrossed at the moment all men's attention—the existing condition of the hostile parties, and probable fortunes of the country. The range of their speculations was not indeed very wide, for Harriet's hopes and fears were directed exclusively to what might concern her cousin; while her father, if he did occasionally hint at the probable effects of the defeat on the nation at large, was almost immediately reminded that they had their own grounds of uneasiness nearer home. "O that we were informed of Joe's safety!" was her frequent exclamation. "Un-

kind, ungenerous, to leave us as he did, and now to maintain a silence which he cannot but be aware is a thousand times more distressing than a knowledge of the worst. Why has he not written ? ”

“ You do your cousin injustice, Harriet,” replied the alderman. “ It might be rash his first mixing himself up in this unhappy movement, which never promised to effect anything except the destruction of those concerned in it ; but he could not, in honour, desert his friends at the very moment when they needed every arm to help them. And as to his silence, that, you may be sure, is not voluntary.”

“ It may be so, sir,” answered Harriet, “ yet I think that had our circumstances been reversed, he would have found me more true to my first vows than to contract other engagements which must necessarily interfere with them. Joe was unkind to leave us as he did, whatever may be the occasion of his silence.”

They were traversing at this time a narrow path on the left bank of the Stour, which led through one or two rich meadows towards the skirts of the great forest, which then came down

at many places to the water's edge. They entered the wood, and were preparing to penetrate into its recesses, when something that looked like a bundle of clothes thrown carelessly along the root of an ash tree, attracted Harriet's attention. She pointed it out to her uncle, who immediately suggested that possibly a gipsy encampment might be near; and, as the gipsies stood not at that period of English history in high estimation among persons of more settled habits, he added apart that no time ought to be lost in regaining the open country. It is not always possible to account for the impulses which lead us to act in opposition to what our more sober judgment might advise; at least so Harriet must have admitted, had her uncle desired her to explain the cause of the reluctance which she expressed to act upon his suggestion. Curiosity might perhaps have had some share in the feeling, yet, even with woman, curiosity is seldom so weighty as to overbalance a well-grounded apprehension of personal danger. But whatever the motive was, Harriet refused to go till they had ascertained the real nature of the object that had startled them. Accordingly,

they drew towards it; and if their hearts beat fast while yet a good way off, the more near they approached the object of their curiosity, the greater reason was there for misgiving. Now they ascertained that it was a cloak, such as horsemen were accustomed to wear in bad weather. Now it seemed as if the cloak had been cast over some bulky object; and now a man's hands and feet were seen to protrude from beneath it. Harriet trembled excessively, and her uncle's arm shook also while it supported her; yet they both determined to go through with the adventure.

"It is some straggler from one or other of the armies," whispered the alderman; "and he seems asleep;—'twere a pity to awake him."

"He may be a fugitive from Maidstone," whispered Harriet, "and in distress. But he lies very still." They were, by this time, close to the object of their curiosity, which, having its features entirely concealed by the folds of the cloak, continued perfectly motionless.

"There is at least the movement of one who breathes," said the alderman in a faltering voice. "He can't therefore be dead."

Harriet uttered a low cry, which, however, produced no effect upon the object before them, and with a desperate hand seized the cloak. She withdrew it hastily from the face, and beheld, pale and motionless, and stretched upon his back, her cousin Joe. His lips were black and parched,—his eyes were half closed,—he breathed, but it was slowly and with much labour,—and there was blood upon his cloak. She screamed aloud, but not for a moment did her presence of mind desert her. She seized his cold hand; she rubbed it in her's, and the operation revived him, for he opened his eyes, cast upon her a look of recognition, and moved his lips as if in the effort to speak.

“Water! water, my father!” cried she. “Oh, fetch some water;—or stay, I will run faster than you. Support his head while I fetch some from the river.”

She seized his iron head-piece, and ran with it to the stream. She plunged it in, but there was a cleft in its side, through which the element poured, and she took it up empty. “Oh, my God!” shrieked the poor girl, “forsake me not.” So saying, she tore the handkerchief from

her neck, and thrusting it into the aperture, stopped the leak. Then, with the helmet full to the brim, she hastened back, and began to lave the lips and forehead of the wounded man. And it was wonderful to see the effect of the application; for no sooner had he swallowed a mouthful or two than his strength appeared to revive, and his eye recovered a portion of its brightness.

“Angel of light! Harriet! my own, my well-beloved! God has heard my prayer, and sent thee to close mine eyes.”

“Oh no, no, Joe, not to close thine eyes!” exclaimed she eagerly, “but to tend thee in thy sickness, to nurse thee till thou art recovered; to be to thee all that ever woman was to man. Thou shalt not die, Joe; thou must not die, for my sake and for my father’s.”

Joe could answer only with a smile, but it was so soft, so radiant, so like those with which, in happier days, he had been wont to greet her, that the maiden’s hopes gathered strength as she beheld it, and she believed that she had spoken the truth. Neither had she deceived herself, so far, at least, as his recovery was concern-

ed. Having been removed to his uncle's house, it was found, indeed, that he was grievously wounded, for a ball had so shattered his right arm as to render amputation necessary, and a sword had penetrated his cap ; but no vital part having been touched, Joe bore the operation well, and every new day brought him an accession of strength. His story, too, was not different from that of other fugitives from a disastrous battle. Dismounted in the *mêlée*, during which his horse was shot under him, Joe continued to fight on, till a musket-ball took effect in his arm, and rendered him helpless. He looked round then, and beheld that all was lost. The cavaliers, borne down by overwhelming numbers, were everywhere in full flight ; and he, joining with the stream, was, happily for himself, swept beyond the church. He could render no assistance to those who still resisted ; he was weak from loss of blood, so he determined to shift for himself. It is strange with what power the thought of home comes upon us when we are suffering in mind or body, or both ; how our most ardent wish amounts only to this—that we could reach the scene of our

childish happiness, as if the happiness of childhood could be restored by a return to its haunts. So, at least, felt Joe Savine on that night of disaster and defeat, when, hastily binding his sash round the broken limb, he turned his steps, not towards Rochester, but in the direction of Canterbury. Nor is this all: with the timidity which is apt to obtain the dominion over him who has escaped from a defeat, Joe avoided as much as possible every frequented path, trusting that his knowledge of the country would enable him to penetrate through the woods, and to reach St. Stephen's without attracting observation. Poor fellow! he did not calculate on the inevitable effects of exhaustion and loss of blood. He held his course correctly enough, and had approached within a league of home, when his strength failed him. He then sat down under a tree, and, perceiving his senses fail, wrapped himself in his cloak and made up his mind to perish. For many hours he had lain thus, sight and hearing and touch all growing dull, while through his mind there passed dreams of running water which he was not permitted to approach. But Providence at last sent those to

his relief, from whom, more than from all others, it was pleasant to receive acts of kindness; and he was carried, as has just been described, to St. Stephen's.

Of the remainder of Joe Savine's history I can speak only in very general terms. Notwithstanding the severity of his wound, he was not permitted to spend the residue of his days at home. A marked man in the beginning of the disturbances, and spoken of as peculiarly active during their progress, warrants were early issued out against him, to avoid the execution of which he fled, being as yet imperfectly cured, to the Continent. How he supported himself there, during a space of some years, I cannot tell, for his uncle became involved in misfortune, through no other cause than that he had sheltered a malignant in trouble. Fines were imposed upon him so severe as to reduce him very nearly to want, and his flourishing business passed into the hands of strangers. When it came to this, the old man withdrew from his native city, and, hiring a small cottage in the Weald, endeavoured to reconcile his habits to his fallen condition. He was not altogether unsuc-

cessful in this, for Harriet went with him ; and in his daughter's society he endeavoured to forget that he had ever seen better days. And it may almost be said that he was happy, when, the violence of persecution having passed away, Joe returned to share with his relatives their fallen state. But the marriage of the cousins, which in due time took place, proved fatal to the peace of the family. Harriet, a delicate woman, died, as her mother had done before her, after bringing a dead infant into the world ; and her father's head was, not long afterwards, laid beside hers in the grave.

From this time, during a series of many years, Joe Savine appears to have been a sort of dependent on the bounty of one or other of the loyal families who found it convenient to conform to the government of the day. His story was well known, and his personal merits acknowledged ; yet, somehow or other, no opportunity offered of establishing him in any line of business by which he could earn a livelihood for himself. At last the Restoration took place, and among many others Joe ventured to bring forward his claims. They were

long neglected, for Joe had no court patron to speak for him, and in Charles the Second's time merit constituted a claim to court favour which was very little recognised. But they did prevail in the end. He who had sacrificed a comfortable independence, and fought and lost a limb in defence of the monarchy, was admitted, after one-and-twenty years of poverty, into Chelsea Hospital. He was rated as a light-horseman, and as a light-horseman he died.

A TRADITION OF
TANGIER.

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CHAPTER I.

*Showing how Tangier was first occupied by
a British garrison.*

It is well known that the town of Tangier, wrested about half a century before by the Portuguese from the barbarians, passed, on the marriage of Charles the Second to the Princess Catherine, under the dominion of the British crown. Situated upon a bay in the Straits of Gibraltar, and at the mouth of a creek navigable at least for barges, Tangier was accepted in 1662 as a very valuable acquisition, as well because it promised to afford a shelter for English vessels, in the event of a war with Spain, as that it opened out a ready means of access to the trade of the East of Europe. For Gibraltar had not yet ceased to form a portion of the Spanish monarchy, and the sea-ports on the African shore being in the hands of avowed

pirates, to pass to and from the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean was at all seasons a service of danger, if not of difficulty. Under such circumstances, the occupation of Tangier was regarded by the mercantile classes as a matter of vast moment, and great was their rejoicing when a fleet and army quitted the British shores to take possession of the prize.

It is not possible, owing to the imperfect accounts that have come down to us, to give an accurate description of the jewel thus transferred to the British crown. In its origin a Gothic town, though enlarged, if not beautified, by its Moorish conquerors, it is described as displaying, at the period of which I am now speaking, a good deal of magnificence, intermixed with an excess of squalor. There was a cathedral, with twelve parish churches, the former large and well supplied with lodgings for the canons. There was a bazaar or market-place, and a great plaza or square, but the streets seem to have been narrow—the quays inconvenient—the harbour perfectly useless, except for vessels of a low draught of water—and the fortifications altogether contemptible. A wall begirt the town,

so narrow that three men could scarcely march abreast under cover of the parapet, and its flank defences were round towers built at a time when artillery was but little trusted to even in sieges. A ditch, to be sure, there was, but it was neither deep nor wide, and had not so much as a vestige of a glacis ; and all beyond its outer face was an enemy's country. For the Moors had rigidly guarded against the acquisition by the Portuguese of a rood of open land, and fought many a bloody battle to hinder them from erecting even an outwork. Accordingly, to the eyes of the new comers, the settlement appeared by many degrees less inviting than it had done to their imaginations. Neither were they more gratified by the results of the investigation which was instituted into the sort of intercourse kept up between the town and its neighbours. They found, for example, that the commerce carried on laboured under many restrictions ; indeed that, as such transactions generally are, when an isolated band of Christians are forced to trade with powerful hordes of barbarians, it was exceedingly vexatious to the former. Thus, while the Moorish authorities

would permit the strangers to buy only from dealers appointed by themselves, who of course exacted for their goods enormous prices, their own traders claimed the privilege of entering the town, and purchasing wherever they might find the best market. In like manner there was an old treaty which bound the Europeans to pay to the Moors an annual amount of powder and muskets, as a sort of ground-rent for their colony; and in the exaction of this the Moors were exceedingly rigid. Then, again, the piratical vessels of the Moors were committing constant depredations on the trade of the Christians. They would even push up the estuary in row-boats, board a vessel lying under the guns of a battery, carry off the crew, and either reduce them to slavery, or exact heavy ransoms, while the representations made to the alcaide or governor of the district were uniformly treated with neglect. In short, the English had been but a brief space in possession ere they began to be aware that their lot was not an enviable one, and that the estimate which had been formed in London, touching

the value of Tangier as a colony, was in many respects exaggerated.

The body of settlers who removed to the coast of Africa with their families, fortunes, and trading propensities, went under the protection of two regiments; one English, the other Irish. The first, or Tiviot's regiment, consisted of fifteen companies, varying in strength from forty to one hundred men each; the last, called Fitzgerald's, after the name of the colonel, contained six companies. Both were made up, according to the usage of the times, partly of musketeers, partly of pikemen, in the proportion of one-third of pikemen to two-thirds of musketeers. Of the pikemen, who were invariably selected from among the tallest and stoutest soldiers in each regiment, the appointments were as follows: a pike, having an ash handle, not less than sixteen feet in length; a back piece and breast-plate, an iron head-piece, and a sword. The musketeers were armed either with firelocks, called snaphances, or with matchlocks; for the latter, though getting out of fashion, were still used; indeed, so late as 1690, a book

of exercise for that arm was published by authority. Only the grenadiers, of whom one company was attached to each regiment, carried bayonets, and these not fixed, as is the case now, with a socket, but screwed by the handle into the muzzle of the piece. In like manner, while the musketeer had for close quarters a sword and a dagger, the grenadier carried over and above a hatchet, with which, at the word "fall on," he was accustomed, after discharging his missiles, to rush upon the enemy. Both wore, in Charles the Second's time, pouches, and both loaded with cartridges; the bandoleer having been laid aside soon after the close of the great civil war. Finally the grenadier, over and above the rest of his weapons, carried slung behind him a bag of hand-grenades, to the use of which he was trained, and from which, indeed, he derived his designation. With respect, again, to the clothing of the infantry, it seems to have consisted, for each man, of a grey coat and breeches, a hat, shoes, shirt, neckcloth and stockings, all contracted for by the officer in command of the several regiments, and all furnished out of allowances granted for the purpose by Go-

vernment. And it is worthy of remark, that as such allowances were made in the gross, so it was not deemed necessary to institute the smallest inquiry into the mode of applying them. If the commanding officer was an honest man, and had the zeal for the service which his station required, then would the regiment be well clothed and appointed; if otherwise, the commandant was sure to grow rich, while the poor soldier went half naked, and very imperfectly equipped.

The first who held office as governor of Tangier was the Earl of Tivlot, the colonel of the English regiment which went by his name, —a fine old soldier, full of courage, quick of temper, tinctured not slightly with stubbornness, and accustomed to carry through whatever he might take in hand, without much regard to the obstacles moral and physical which might oppose themselves. He was not slow in perceiving that there existed at home a very mistaken opinion as to the condition of the place; which could never be rendered available either as a naval station or an emporium of trade, unless its harbour were greatly improved, and its territory inland extended. Moreover,

he saw with regret that his instructions contained not a single clause which he could interpret into an authority for removing these evils. He therefore determined on returning home, a project which he carried into execution, as soon as he had established his subjects both civil and military in their respective places, and carried into effect certain arrangements with the Portuguese bishop and clergy, for which the treaty of cession had provided. This done, he hied him to London, where the necessities of his case were laid bare; and he received from the king's government full powers to act in the matter as should seem best for the public good.

Lord Tiviot hastened back to his colony, well pleased with the result of his application, and bent upon effecting his proposed improvements, not only without delay, but in defiance of opposition either external or internal. There was at this time an angry feeling on the part of Spain towards England. The Portuguese connexion on the one hand, and the French alliance on the other, alike displeased her; and

she affected extraordinary jealousy of this new settlement, so near, as was pretended, to her coasts, and so likely to interfere with the right, to which she laid claim, of controlling the navigation of the Straits. Lord Tiviot availed himself of this well-known jealousy, and made it the groundwork of an application to the Bey, that he would concede to the English just so much territory without the town, as might suffice for the construction of a line of outposts. The application was met, as perhaps Lord Tiviot expected, by a direct refusal. He was told "that by a decision of the Elders and Rabbis, their law would not permit them to give libertie to Christians to fortifye in Africa ;" and that any attempt to do so would be resented and opposed. At the same time it was intimated to those within the town, that in the event of a quarrel, the Moors "were willing to give quarters as in the Portuguese tyme, and rate the prisoners at such a pryse." The stout governor seems to have fired up at this announcement. "I told them," says he in his official despatch, "I would either have peace

with the sayd conditions, or else war without them ;” and he kept his word. On the very day after the return of his commissioners, he marched forth at the head of his whole garrison, drove back the Moorish guards that observed the town, seized upon a new alignment about two miles in advance, and began to fortify.

It is very probable that the war, if not begun by Lord Tiviot, would have been forced upon him sooner or later by the insolence of the Moors ; yet is it past dispute that the English were the aggressors. They conceived that an extension of territory was requisite for their safety, and being refused it on application, they won it with their swords. 'Tis the good old rule, doubtless, of which Wordsworth speaks in commendation ; but it does not always lead to good, and in the present instance its purpose was defeated. For the space of two-and-twenty years from the date of this transaction, there was continual war at Tangier. From time to time, indeed, a truce would be patched up, as one or other of the bellige-

rent parties grew tired of the pastime of fighting; but never from that hour, till the day when the settlement was abandoned, were its tenants at peace. Of some of the most stirring of the encounters which occurred during that war I propose to give a short account; and as such tales are never so well told as by persons who have witnessed the transactions which they describe, I will on all occasions where the opportunity offers, take advantage of the privilege that has been afforded me, by extracting from the mass of papers and letters which, bearing upon this isolated portion of our history, have been preserved in the State Paper Office. Should there appear to be in some of these, a deficiency of interest, I cannot help it. The subject is very closely connected with the fortunes of Chelsea Hospital, which may be said in some sort to have arisen out of the struggle at Tangier; and were the case otherwise, there are probably few persons who would not desire to know something of the merits and services of such men as Fairborne, Kirke, and others. For

though their monuments are upon the walls of Westminster Abbey, and lie open to the inspection of all men, the legends which they bear must be altogether without meaning, if all record of their exploits be forgotten.

Among the brave men who perilled their lives in this tedious struggle, there was none stouter of heart, or more resolute of purpose than Lord Tivlot. He had taken his line, and he resolved to keep it, let come what might; and as he exposed his own person as freely as that of the meanest of his followers, he never found among his men the slightest inclination to desert him. Day after day a portion of the garrison was engaged in skirmishes, which at once taught them the art of war, and, being successful, gave them confidence in themselves, while the remainder wielded spade and pickaxe with such effect, that a semicircle of redoubts soon crowned the heights by which the town is at a long gun-shot's interval surrounded. Continued success is, however, in most cases, the parent of rashness, and rashness in war universally leads to disaster. Take, for example,

the following extract from a letter addressed by Major, afterwards Sir Tobias Bridge, to the Secretary of State, in which an account is given of the first serious check which the English army had as yet sustained. The despatch bears date May 5, 1664, and runs thus :

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,

“After our noble governor, my Lord of Tiviot, by his prudent conduct and industry, had done so great and worthy actions against the Moors, his success wherein being to all men’s admiration, having not only resisted and beaten off their whole army when they attacked our lines, sallying out upon them, and took the standard of Guyland, but gained ground on them every day by making new lines, and being upon the erecting of two forts at a considerable distance from the town for their preservation, the which, though not perfected, yet a little time would have brought them to a condition of defence. And for the security of his workmen, himself in person did every morning with all his horse and considerable numbers of

foot, make ample discoveries of all the grounds about to a considerable distance, and afterwards placed guards and scouts to the greatest advantage imaginable; by which practice we were not of some considerable time molested by the Moors ambushes, which before they frequently laid, only showing themselves sometimes each day in small parties at a good distance, neither did they for five or six days so much as show themselves to us in any party. This gave my lord encouragement to march over the Jews' river, into a thick bushy wood opposite to the hill on the westward the sea, and went there with a party of foot, more than three miles, without any resistance made, when they only found one house built with stone and lime, the which was by them quitted upon my lord's approach, leaving therein some kettles, hooks, bills, and other necessities, which our souldiers, upon their return, brought away. Upon the third of this instant, my lord having made early in the morning a further discovery with his horse, than ever he had done at any time before, to the south-east, and after placing

his centinels and guards, judging the country, for a great distance at least, to be clear of any enemy, ordained all the horse to forage there, directing some foot to lye near them, for the making good the retreat, if any thing unexpectedly should happen. And he himself took a resolution to goe into the wood with some foot to cut wood, and immediately went over the valley to the west hill towards Fort Charles, and took with him seven battalions (companies) of foot, all fire-locks, the best and choicest of our men, and the principal and chief officers of our garrison to command them ; he himself being accompanied with several gentlemen volunteers and reformed officers, marched over the Jews' river into the wood, and went up three several ways, they being all appointed to meet at some particular place some distance above the hill. But so it was, notwithstanding his far discovery before made by the horse, which, I fear, produced more than ordinary confidence, before they came up to the middle parts of the hill in the wood, several ambushes of foot discovered themselves, with which our

men skirmished and drove to a retreat; but presently they rose up on all hands, and appeared in such great numbers, that they immediately had surrounded our men. At the same time the horse started up round about in the valley, and on the hills to the south-east, not less than two thousand came pouring down, not only upon our horse, but took the advantage in a moment to fall between the wood where our foot were and the hill, that although it was evident our men fought as resolute, and gave as good fire as men could do, they being thus surrounded by their army of horse and foot, our worthy general, the officers and gentlemen with him, and all the whole party of the souldiers were cut off; not thirty of them, as I can find, that ever came back. There is lost in this action his excellency the Earl of Tiviot, our general, with nineteen commission officers, and fifteen gentlemen and volunteers, the doctor, together with three hundred and ninety-six non-commission officers and private souldiers, the particular of which and other things is sent. This sad misfortune and great breach hath filled us

all with sorrow and distraction ; yet are all willing to contribute our utmost for the safety of the place, and, if possible, to preserve those forts which already hath cost so much care and charges. The officers remaining here have, with joynt consent, been pleased to command me at present to manage the governor's concerns, which I shall, with all faith and loyalty, endeavour to discharge, according to my capacity, until his Majesty's pleasure be known."

The loss of the governor, and so large a portion of the garrison, was severely felt in Tangier. Independently of the great diminution of strength to a force originally feeble enough, the moral effect was of the worst kind ; for the troops, relieved from the tight grasp of a veteran's hand, began to mutiny for want of pay, and desertions became frequent. It was discovered, too, that there were traitors within the walls, who kept up a correspondence with the enemy, and the firmness and conduct of Sir Tobias Bridge were put sorely to the test. He seems, however, to have been a man of courage, and

he acted on the occasion with equal decision and judgment. One Wilson, a merchant, was arrested. The ringleaders of the mutineers were tried and put to death, and order was restored. This done, the completion of the works sketched out by Lord Teviot was vigorously pressed ; and within a month the advanced line became defensible.

On the 13th July 1664, Colonel Fitzgerald, who was in England on leave of absence at the time of Lord Tiviot's death, arrived to take command of the place. Some reinforcements came out about the same time, which enabled him to muster once more seventeen companies ; but his provisions soon ran short ; and the Moors not only kept a large armed force in a posture to threaten him continually, but began to build a town within a league and a half of his outposts, and otherwise permanently to occupy the surrounding districts. No acts of hostility occurred, however, during many months. It seemed, indeed, as if the Moors were unwilling to break entirely with England unless Spain should join them, and that Spain,

though disposed to blow up a flame between the rival powers, felt reluctant herself to draw the sword. Accordingly, the preparations on both sides continued to be merely defensive. Colonel Fitzgerald applied for more men, and obtained them, while Guyland pushed forward his system of colonization indefatigably.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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